

V T H E

# Spirit of P O P E R Y

Speaking out of the Mouths of

## Phanatical-Protestants,

O R T H E

## L A S T S P E E C H E S

Mr. JOHN KID }  
 And } Two Presbyterian  
 Mr. JOHN KING, } Ministers,

Who were Executed for  
 HIGHTREASON and REBELLION;

At *Edinburgh*, August the 14th. 1679.

With *ANIMADVERSIONS*, and the *History* of the  
 Archbishop of *St. Andrews* his Murder, extracted out of the  
 Registers of the Privy-Council, &c.

By an Orthodox Protestant.

1 Pet. 4. 15, 16.

*But let none of you suffer as a Murderer, or as a Thief;---Yet if any Man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but glorify God on this behalf.*

Matth. 23. 13, 16, 17. 27. 31, 32.

*We unto you Hypocrites, who for a pretence make long Prayers;---Ye fools, and blind, ye blind Guides, you are like unto beautified Sepulchres, fair without, but full of dead mens bones, and unlearned within. Fill ye up the measure of your Fathers, for you are the Sons of them who killed the Prophets.*

Luke 11. 49, 50, 51.

*Some of them they shall Slay, and Persecute, that the blood of all--- which was shed from the blood--- to the blood--- may be required of this Generation.*

Matth. 7. 15.

*Beware of Falsi-Prophets, which come to you in Sheeps Cloathing, but inwardly are Ravening-Wolves.*

Gen. 49. 6.

*O my Soul, come not thou into their Secret, nor unto their Assembly, for in their anger they Slew a Man.*

2 Tim. 3. 2, 3, 4, 5.

*Boasters, Proud, Blasphemers, Unthankful, Unholy, False-Accusers, Incontinent, Fierce, Traitors, Heady, High-minded;----- having the outward appearance of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof; from such turn away.*

*Dekine ut quiescant porro, moneo, & definant maledicere, malefacta ne noscant sua.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by *H. Hills*, and are to be Sold by *Walter Kittlesby*, at the *Bishops-head* in *St. Paul's*,  
 Church-Yard. 1680.

Law  
Trial (A. & S.)  
"Kid"

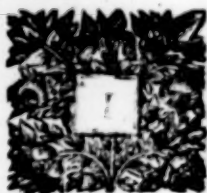


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T H E

# P R E F A C E,

*Wherein the Author of the Animadversions addresseth himself to the English-Dissenters, especially the Presbyterians, and shews the Jesuitical Tricks that have been used in the former Edition of these Speeches.*



IN Writing the Animadversions upon these two treasonable and blasphemous Speeches, and the History of the Archbishops Murder, as a further Commentary upon them; I have had a double regard, to the *English* and *Scottish* Reader, and have consequently said some things in both of them with respect to the one, which may seem superfluous to the other. The consideration I had to the former obliged me to cite, and exemplifie many *Scottish Acts of Parliament, Orders, and Proclamations* of the King by his Privy-Council; which had been needless, but that without them it was not possible for any, but a *Scotsman*, fully to understand the meaning of those passages in the Speeches, to illustrate which they are produced. And the consideration I had to the latter, hath made me insist much on the invalidity of the *Kirk-Ministry*, and the *Divine Institution of Episcopacy*, in doing of which I have cited the *Latin Fathers* in the *Original*, and the *Greek* in *Latin*, because this Language in *Scotland*, among the men, is almost as common as their *Mother-Tongue*.

But besides those things upon which I have largely insisted for the sake of the one, of which the other had not so much need, I have purposely insisted on other useful things upon the common account of both. Particularly I have been elaborat in explaining most of those Texts of Scripture which the *two Malefactors* misapplied to themselves, or their own Party, and in citing out of the *Kirk-Writers* their *Papal, Jesuitical, Murderous, Schismatical* and *Rebellious Principles*; in doing of which, I protest, I have not said the *fourth-part* of what I was able to produce. I have also here and there exemplified their Principles with their Practices, and all this I have done without any, at least without any material reflections upon the *English-Dissenters*, for whose sake especially I have undertaken this small, but tedious work.

For the conforming part of both Churches generally know enough to make them detest the Principles and Practices of our *Jesuitical Separatists*, and so will read things of this nature, not so much for instruction, as delight: and for our *Scottish-Nonconformists*, especially those of the *Field-Separation*, it would be lost labour to write Books for them, who lye under as strong a prejudice against the *Church-Writers*, as the most *bigoted Papists*

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*Papists* do, and like them are also terrified and prohibited by their *Jesuitical Preachers* from reading of any thing, that is written by an *Orthodox Protestant Pen*.

Therefore the principal design which I had in Publishing all this, was for your sakes, *O ye Nonconformists from our Sister Church of England*, who have more ingenuity, and who, I cannot but believe, are ignorant of the nature of our Separatists, and their Separation, because upon all occasions, you appear as much concerned for them, as if you thought, that their Cause and yours were the very same. Did you not take them for a more rational, and innocent Sect than they are, you would, I am confident, be ashamed to Correspond with them, who are the shame of the *Presbyterian Name*. You would not, if you rightly understood them, *Defend their Separation; Apologize for their worst Actions; \* disperse their Calumniating and lying Stories, and with your Interests and Purse, support their tottering Cause*. You would not defend their *unrighteous dealings; rail at those, who bring them to Condign Punishment, and call their Fincings, Imprisonments, and Executions, Persecution*, although they are *Condemned upon the very same Account, and Suffer for the very same Principles and Practices*, for which you rejoyce to see the *Papists*, but especially the *Jesuits Dye*, by the Executioners hand.

If you will not believe me, read this little Book, nay, read but the *Speeches*, and the *History*, and if you please let the rest alone; and then, if you do not find that I Charge them truly, expose me in Print for a Calumniator, or Post me up for a Knave. But if you find that the *Presbyterian Sect*, of which these two Malefactors, and the Archbishops Murderers were, profess a *Papal Sovereignty* over your Native Prince, and most of all the *Doctrines*, if not all, for which the *Jesuits* are Secluded both Kingdoms by Capital Laws; then I beseech you, nay, I conjure you, as you would be thought true, and impartial Protestants, or, men of common Ingenuity, not to favour, or approve in the *Presbyterian*, what you abhor in the *Popish Priests and People*; nor to call the Execution of wholsom and necessary Laws, *Tyranny and Persecution*, with respect to the one, which you declare to be *Laudable Justice* on the other. How have both you, and the Conforming-Protestants, applauded the Zeal and Justice of your Magistrates, in Executing your Laws upon the former, and yet you revile and hate those, who Execute our Laws upon the latter, (though their Principles are as incompatible with the Government) and call the *Church-Protestants, Papists*; or say, they are *Popishly* affected, when you hear them like good Subjects rejoyce at the news of their Defeats, or express their satisfaction, that they Suffered, as the nature of their Crimes deserved.

I say, Their Principles are as incompatible with \* Government, and the common Security that every man ought to have in Human Societies, and that they would be extirpated out of any Protestant Government of the World, (as the *Jesuits* were once out of *France*, and many other *Popish Countreys*) but Ours, and Yours; and yet when a Parcel of them a Year ago; were sent on Ship-board into the *Thames*, in order to be Transported according to Law, you made as great a stir about it with the King, and his Secretary for this Kingdom, as if they had been the most Innocent and Orthodox-Protestants in the World. Had they been *Jesuited Papists*, we should all have rejoyced; but had they been so many of *either Churches* Communion,

\*---By sundry Libellous Pamphlets and most false and Seditious Discourses sent from Scotland, and dispersed purposely in this our Kingdom of England, especially in our City of London, that the cause of these Disorders is sought to be shifted off the Rebels in Scotland, and most unjustly cast upon--- King Charles 1st. his lesser Declaration, 1640. pag. 2.

\* Who under the Mask, and Vizard of Religion, seek to Subvert all Monarchical, and Civil Government. King Chas. 1st. his lesser Declaration, 1640. p. 3.

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Communion; especially of those, whom you invidiously call *High-flown Church-men*; though in Charity, I believe you would have been sorry for them, yet I doubt, if you would have taken half that pains to prevent their Transportation, have given them half so much Money, or upon their account have cryed out *Tyranny* half so much.

In like manner, when the *Highlanders* about two years since were brought down under the Conduct of their *Chiefs* into those Shires, where at least five parts in six are of this *Jesuitical Sect*; What Tragical outcries did you make at *London*? though if the *Papists* should have kept such frequent, and numerous Field-Conventicles in the *Papist* Shires of *England*, at a time when the Kings Standing Forces were not able to dissipate the tenth part of them; you would have thought it both lawful, expedient, and laudable to have sent Thousands of People from *Protestant* Shires, to Quarter among them for a little while, till other expedients could have been found. You know very well, that the first Discoverer of the *Horrid Popish Plot* hath declared to all the World, That *Jesuits* were sent into *Scotland* about the same time that they began to *Field-Conventicle*, to encourage them to Rebel, and disturb the Ministry of the Duke of *Lauderdale*; and yet you are so confident as to contradict him in this particular, reporting in favour of our *Jesuited Presbyterians*, That there was no need for such a Force to over-rule them, but that they were brought upon them purposely to provoke them to Rebel.

I must also remind you, of the innumerable Lyes you dispersed (I cannot believe you rais'd them) of the *Devastations, Murders, Robberies, Rapes, &c.* committed by the *Highlanders* among those *Presbyterian Jesuits*, though there were as few, and as small disorders committed by them, as ever was by the like number, not only of Soldiers, but Men. For they are not *Barbarians*, as you Styled them, unless it be in the same sense that the *Greeks* and *Romans* called all other People *Barbarous*, that spoke not their Languages, and wore not the *Pall*, and *Gown*. No, I assure you, they are a very Civil, Generous, and Governable People, who committed not half so many, nor so great disorders in that expedition, as the Soldiers, who were levied about the same time in *England*, did about the places where they lay. Did any of them do such a Barbarous action (not to mention others) as that of Captain——upon Sir *Robert Viners* Daughter? if they did, let it be published, but if they did not, then I beseech you, be not accessory to such lying Stories again. But the Loyal *Highlanders* were from the beginning *Malls* to the *Covenant* and *Covenanters*, and this is the true ground, why our *Presbyterians* in the first place, and you by contagion from them in the second, hate, and defame them so much.

For the very same reason you are directed by them, to Calumniate the great name of his Grace the Duke of *Lauderdale*. The Church is supported upon, and our Pestilent Sectarians crush'd under his *Ministry*, and therefore you Conspire to represent him as a Tyrant, Papist, and what not? Though some of the most Considerable among you, know him to be a man of great Moderation and Piety, and one who abominates *Popery* from his heart.

I think fit also to mind you of the Misrepresentations which you made of the Archbishops Murder, endeavouring to lay it elsewhere than at the door of that Phanatical Party, who brought his Grace (as the *Jesuits* have done greater men) to *Ehuds* Dagger, and *Gideons* Sword. I have made



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a True Narrative of it, and of the *Jesuitical* Principles upon which it was Committed; on purpose, that you seeing of what manner of Faith, and Spirit this direful Sect are, may Befriend them no longer; but shew your selves sincere *Protestants*, in abhorring the worst part of *Papery* in them, aswell as in *Papists* properly so called.

Furthermore, I cannot but tell you, that I am very much offended at the spiteful manner, after which you have Treated the Church and her Clergy, ever since the Discovery of the *Papist-Plot*. I have seen the Narratives of your *Essex*, and *Leicester-shire* Elections, and have read the Books which your Rabbies have lately put out, and comparing them with other Phanatical, shall I call them, or *Papist* Libels; methinks I find little of the Ancient *Puritan* Spirit among you, but that you have deviated ten times further from their Principles, than the Divines in *Celestina* are falsely represented to have deviated from the Doctrines of the Church. Nay, to deal plainly with you, you seem to have much of the *Covenanting* Spirit among you, and if you stop not in time, I am afraid, that as many Acts of Parliament must be made in your Countrey for the protection of the Clergy, as have been made in ours. What? are you not ashamed to Assault the Church on one side, while the *Papists* Storm her on the other? A Church, of all the Reformed, most hated by the *Papists*, and whose Clergy alone hath done much more against *Papery*, than the Divines of all Reformed Communions in the World. And yet you are not ashamed to misrepresent this very Clergy to the people for *Papists*, or *Papistly* affected, a Clergy, whose Writings all Foreign Protestant Divines study *English* on purpose to understand, and which at this day, (praised be God for it) can produce more Great men, than the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, put together in the most flourishing Century, could ever shew at a time.

But this is not to act like *Protestants*, but *Papists*, or whatsoever else you will call those, who endeavour to ruine the Fortrefs of the *Protestant* Cause. And truly while some of your leading Dissenters openly avow, that they are neither *Presbyterians*, nor Independents, &c. Nor of any other known name, do they not prompt us to believe, that they may be *Papists*, or at least are so fond of their own Conceits, as to be of nothing but of themselves. So *Arius*, was an *Arian*, *Novatus* a *Novatian*, and *Donatus* a *Donatist*, and no part of Christendom ever yet wanted men, who had the vanity to affect singularity in Opinions of Religion, to Commence *Heresiarchs*, and become *Chiefs* of a Sect. Thus for example, I know not what *Mr. Baxter* can be called, but a *Papist*, or *Baxterian*, he is not of the Church of *England*; it is manifest folly, and injustice to call him *Papist*; He saith, He is no *Presbyterian*, &c. he must therefore like the Founder of an Heresie, be denominated from himself, unless he can reduce himself to any other denomination Catholick, or Heterodox, that now is, or ever was among Christians, and if he can, let him do us the favour to tell us what it is.

I am likewise very much Scandalized at you, for giving the right hand of Fellowship to our *Presbyterian Jesuits*, whom, were you of the Principles of the Ancient Puritans, you would thrust out of your Synagogues, as soon as you knew what they are; should you favour, and Carefully Profess *Jesuits*, and admit them to your Communion, would it not be reasonable to suspect, that you were *Jesuits* your selves? and therefore if after this you shall own our *Covenanting Hildebrandises*, who would set their

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their feet on the Necks of Christian Princes, you must excuse us, if we say, that you your selves are such. I am sure should the Bishops, and Clergy of either Church, do but half as much for the *Papists* as you have done for our *Presbyterian Papalines*, you would, and very justly too, proclaim them for *Papists* all over the *Protestant* world. Many of them this day are protected among you, and one of them among you; or which is worse, one of your selves lately *Published these two Treasonable, and Blasphemous Speeches* with so many Tricks, and Falsifications, as none but a *Jesuit*, or *Jesuited Nonconformist* could do.

For first, in the *Title-page* he calls them, *The last Speeches of &c. at the place of Execution*, without mentioning the horrid Crimes for which they were Executed; which plainly shews, be he *Scotti*, or *English*, that he is one of these *Jesuited Presbyterians*, that counted the late Insurrection no Rebellion, as these two Traytors did amply declare. Also by omitting to mention the Treasons and Rebellion for which they were Executed, he gives the people occasion to think, that they were put to death like Apostles, merely for *Preaching the Gospel*, though before they engaged in the late Insurrection, they Preached Treason and Rebellion in the Fields, to Thousands of Armed-men.

In the 6th. pag. where he saith, that Mr. King bore his Testimony against the Covenant, he hath left out these words in which he bore it.

*Also I bear my Witness, and Testimony to our Covenants National, and Solemn-League betwixt the Three Kingdoms, which Sacred and Solemn Oath I believe cannot be dispensed with, nor loosed by any person, or party upon Earth, but are fully binding these Nations, and will be so hereafter.* And in the 7th. pag. he hath left out all that follows.

Vid. p. 42.

*And against all Oaths, and Bonds contrary to our Covenant and Engagements, especially that Oath of Supremacy, the Declaration against the Covenant, and that Bond called the Bond of peace, and that horrid Bond so frequently imposed against the Meetings of his people in Fields, and Houses, intended for the Down-bearing of the Gospel, and Interest of our Lord and Master, with all other Bonds Publick or Private, contrary to our Obligations and Covenants to God; also against all such that Connive at, or Comply with, or strengthen the hands of this Prelatical, Malignant, and Persecuting Party.* In the 8th. page he hath left out all this.

Vid. p. 43.

*And particularly, I bear my Testimony against that horrid Violation done to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that by Usurping upon his Royal Prerogatives, and in Spoiling him of his Crown, Sword, Scepter and Royal Robe, by taking those Princely Ornaments to invest a man with, whose Breath is in his Nostrils, though that woful Supremacy so much applauded to, and universally owned, even of such, of whom better things might have been expected, I mean the Indulged, and such as Countenanced them in that way, even to the ruining and renting of the Church, which alas! is too Evident by sad, and doleful experience.*

Vid. p. 45.

So much for the larger Omissions; but in other places of this Speech, he hath left out as material passages, by which in the 5th. pag. he hath perverted the Sence; for in this place, *I have been often dissuading from such ways and practices*, [and of this my Conscience bear me Witness, but here I would not have you mistake me, as if I did approve of ways and practices] *contrary to the word of God, and that of our Covenanted Reformed Religion.* He hath left out all betwixt the Hooks. Again, in the

Vid. p. 37.

8th. page



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Vid. p. 46. 8th. page to that Expression, (*to all those who have laid down their lives*) he should have added, as it follows in the true Copy, (*either formerly or of late in the Fields*) So in the 9th. page from these words-- (*provoke the Lord to bring a Sword upon these Lands*) he hath taken away, (*to avenge the Quarrel of his Covenant.*) Lastly, page 12. in this Expression, *And send a Reviving day to the (Work) and People of God,* he hath omitted the word (*Work.*)

So much for *Kings* Speech, and the Falsifications are no less considerable in that of *Kids*; For first, he hath Postponed the most scandalous part of his Speech, which he spoke a little after the beginning, and put it towards the end.

For what is contained betwixt (*eighthly, as for, &c.*) after (*Harlot Scotland*) page 21. and (*let the Land consider*) after *Principles and Practices*, page 25. line 3. should have been Printed after all that follows from these words, and should have followed on the blank page, to (*reflection upon any*) page 27. line 19. as may be seen by consulting the Sixth and Eleventh Pages of this Edition, which is sufficiently proved by these words, (*in the close as a dying person*) at the bottom of the Sixteenth Page of this Edition, which usher in his last words.

The reason is plain, why he put the most poysonous part at the latter end, *viz.* That the common Reader, who might have spit it out again at first, might take it down without scruple, after his palate had been prepared with all he had unwarily swallowed before.

But this had not been so great a fault, had he Printed it all; but he hath left out all that *Treasonable, Papal, Rebellious, Jesuitical* stuff from these words, (*his Servants and People*) page 7. line 17. in this Edition, to (*and moreover*) page 10. line 35. which I desire the Reader to consult. But besides this great omission, he is guilty of several others, which ought to be observed. For page 25. line 6. after (*cake not turned*) he hath left out, (*which is upon the matter contrary to, and inconsistent with our solemnly Sworn Covenant*) and after (*Reformation*) l. 18. he hath omitted (*according to our Sworn Covenant;*) and page 22. at the bottom, instead of (*Remember their Sworn Covenant*) he hath said (*Remember their former Obligations;*) so likewise page 24. line 1. he hath put down (*Abettors of that Contention*) instead of (*The late Convention of Estates.*)

The Jesuitical Publisher of these Jesuitical Speeches, must needs be a *Presbyterian*, because none of the other Sectaries would concern themselves so much for the *Covenant, Kirk-Sessions, and Presbyteries*; nay, it is most probable that he is a *Covenanting Presbyterian of the Field-Sort*, and therefore I cannot but exhort you, who are the more moderate, and better Principled Dissenters of that Denomination, to beware of such, and to endeavour to find out this particular Sophisticator, and when you have discovered him, to purge him out of your Synagogues, as a dangerous piece of Jesuitical Leven; or, as the Apostle speaks of the *Corinthian Fornicator*, to put him away from among yourselves, as you tender your Reputation, and would have us believe you are sound<sup>d</sup> Protestants, and not of the stamp of our Jesuitical Whigs.

I cannot forbear to press this advice upon you with passion, for if you beware not betimes of these *Dogs* of our *Concission*, your Societies will

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will shortly be incurably leavened with their rebellious and Murderous *Jesuitical* Doctrines, which in a little time will influence your practices, and *impulse* you like them to March into the Field. If you take not speedy care, they will put you upon *Jesuitical* Projects; set up a Cause, and Interest among you, which shall be dearer to you than that of the Publick, and bring you under another Government, besides that of your Prince. There was a Project of that *Jesuitical* nature, attempted by some of your Principals about four or five years ago, when some of your Ministers and others Caballed together about reducing the *Presbyterians* (Whether over *England* only, or over all the three Nations, I do not well remember) into the same sort of Policy, by which the *Jesuits* are Governed over all the world. The Nation was to be divided into Districts, or *Provinces*; every District was to have its *Provincial*, and over all the *Provinces* was to be appointed one *General* to reside constantly (as I remember) in *London*; and the first, who was to have the Honour of that Office, (like the Founder of the *Jesuits*) had been a Soldier, and a great Malefactor, and is also fit to be General of an Army, and presided in that Consult. He is a Gentleman whom you all know, and makes a great part of a late Narrative, wherein the impudent Narrator implicitly calls you the *most Sober and considerable Protestants of the Land*. The *Provincials* in their several *Districts*, were to take an account of the growth or decay of the Party, to note their friends and enemies, to receive their Contributions, and give an account of all to the General, who was to supervise for the good of the whole. This account, with which I am confident I do not surprise some of you, was told me upon condition of Secrecy, by a very honest and peaceable, but Rigid *Presbyterian* Minister, our Countreyman, who having got notice of the Consult, broke it in the beginning, by telling the Projectors how he abhorred it, and threatening to discover it, if they did not desist. He told me also, that he believed the Project came first from the designed General, who intended by that means to raise his broken Fortunes, which if he had accomplished, he might easily have done.

And to do his Memory Justice, he told me this Story with very great indignation; the substance of which, (as I shall answer for it to God at the day of Judgement) I have faithfully related (to the best of my memory) upon the Faith of a Christian Man. I have told you this, not to upbraid you, but with an honest design to make you take the greater care not to conform your selves to the *Jesuitical* example of our *Remonstrator Field-Presbyterians*, who also have such a secret policy (*imperium in imperio*) among themselves. And I hope you will hereafter detest them for the sake of their *Jesuitical* Principles and Practices, that so you may not by insensible degrees grow like them in either or both, but especially in Violence, Cruelty, and Inhumanity, and so make your Bishops and their Clergy like ours, dread you as much as they dread the worst of *Papists*, and think it indifferent whether they fall by the *Papish*, or *Presbyterian* hands. There is no great difference in the choice between a *Clement* and a *Melvil*, a *Ravillac*, and a *Mitchel*, Hanging 50 Cubits high, or Burning, a Jail, and the Inquisition, or between being persecuted to any degree, or in any kind, as an *Heretick* by *Papists*, or as a *Papist* by *Presbyterians*, &c. as an enemy to the Church by those, and as an enemy to *Christ*, and the Gospel by these.

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The following Speeches alone will sufficiently inform you, what great reason the Clergy and their Patrons have to fear the *Jesuited Presbyterians*; but if you please to Consult the *Animadversions*, and the History of the Archbishops Murder, you will have more abundant Evidence, and perceive how friendly I have dealt with you in warning of you against that Execrable Sect.

In consulting my Citations, I must intreat you to take notice, that it is the first Edition of *Knoxes History in Octavo*, out of which my Quotations of that Author are taken. It is a very scarce Book, but more of them are extant among our Phanaticks, than all *Great Britain* besides. If you have it not among your selves, you may find it among them; and though Archbishop *Spotswood* (whose incomparable Son was Murdered by the *Covenanters*) proves undeniably, that the *Church History* ascribed to him, is none of his; yet that is nothing to my purpose, since it is evident it was written by an *\* Heroical Presbyterian*, as he was; and if good Traditional Authority deceive us not, one who was his familiar Servant, and who perhaps had a double portion of his Masters Spirit, compiled it out of his Materials after he was dead.

When I began this Preface, I thought to have taken an occasion to lay down the *common Principles*, in which all *Presbyterians* (I mean *Presbyterians* of all sorts) do agree, and the *Arguments* by which they have combated *Episcopacy*, and *Episcopal Ordination*, and to have shewn you by direct, and undeniable deductions, how the Principles of the *Independents* and of all other Subdivisions of Sectaries, are the unavoidable consequents of the *Former*, and that the whole Fabrick of the Christian Religion will be mightily endangered if not destroyed by the latter: not only the *Baptizing of Infants*, the *Observation of the Lords-day*, the *Admission of Women to the Holy-Communion*, (who were not, as *Cassand.* observes, admitted to the Paschal Lamb, which it succeeded, nor can it be expressly proved out of the New Testament, that ever they received it) but the *Order, and Authority of Presbyters to Administer it*, nay, the *use of both the Holy Sacraments*, (which the *\* Quakers* say was a Temporary Institution) and the *Divine Authority of the Scriptures in general*, upon which the Christian Religion depends. But I hear that one intends to do this in a particular Tract, wherein he also designs to shew, That scarce one particular of the Christian Religion, except the Authority of the Scriptures in general, hath been so little contested as *Episcopacy*, and *Episcopal Ordination*, wherein for above 1400. years, the Hereticks agreed with the *Catholick Church*.

This being so, it may easily be discerned to what cause we ought chiefly to ascribe that Deluge of *Atheism*, and utter contempt of Religion, which hath overflowed the Land. You have been the main occasion of it, the Atheists, as well as the whole Brood of Sects, are your (though I confess Equivocal) Offspring; and to give them their due, they have not been ingrateful, but always serviceable to you, and upon all occasions have joined with you in your main designs against the Bishops and the Church. However it is the Churches unhappiness, yet it is not Her dishonour, that She and Her Clergy have you and them, your Allies, for their Common Enemies; you joyn hand in hand against them, and endeavour to cover their Faces with shame, and fill their Souls with contempt. But I desire you seriously to consider, whether your ingratitude

Lib. 5. 267.

\* For Knox as  
Camden in his  
Hist. of Queen  
Eliz. lib. 1. p.  
95. of the third  
Edition in  
English, relates  
thundered out  
of the Pulpit,  
That Queen  
Mary Stuart  
should not only  
be Deposed, but  
put to Death.

\* Vid. Apol. Re-  
lig. Reform. by  
Barclay.



## The Preface.

ingratitude to God for such a Church, and your contempt and forsaking of such a Clergy, who have always been such faithful, and invincible Champions against the *Papists*, be not one of those crying Sins, which have justly provoked God to threaten us with *Popery*, and which may at length urge him to bring you under the King of *Babylon*, both for your Punishment and Cure.

I believe you will be offended at me for what I have said of the necessity of *Episcopal*, and invalidity of *Presbyterian Orders*; but I have said no more of this Subject than Bishop <sup>a</sup> *Fern*, who asserts that the latter are to be accounted void within the Church of England, and every compleat and regularly formed Church. Or Bishop <sup>b</sup> *Andrews*, who asserted, That the Reformed Church of France in wanting *Episcopacy*, wanted something which was of *Divine Right*. Or King <sup>c</sup> *Charles the First*, who asserted, That by the alteration of our Church-Government, we should be deprived of a Lawful Priesthood, &c. Or in effect then, <sup>d</sup> *Dr. More*, who on *Rev. 13. 11.* makes *Episcopacy* to be the Horns of the Lamb, which were upon the Beasts, or *Antichrists* Head. Or last of all, then <sup>e</sup> *Mr. Dodwell*, who, as I am assured from very good Judges, hath unanswerably shewed the nullity of these, by the necessity of having those in every visible Church. I have not yet seen the Book, but I am confident I am rightly informed about it, because I find *Mr. Baxter* so angry both at it and the Author in his last Book. I shall say no more than this, That if this Doctrine be true, then you who maliciously oppose the *Divine Institution*, or who by virtue of *Presbyterian Orders*, sacrilegiously presume to Administer the Sacraments in opposition to our *Episcopal Communion* within the *British Isles*, have a sad account to give, without Repentance, to the Head, and Founder of the *Catholick Church*.

a. *Against Champney*, page 118.  
b. *Answer to the third Epist. of Pet. Moulin*.  
c. *In his first Paper to Mr. Henderson*.  
d. *Apocalypsis Apocalypsis*, page 130.  
e. *In his Separation of Churches*.

Edinburgh, Jan. 5. 1679.  
80.

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*The Author having met with King Charles the Firsts Declaration concerning his Subjects of Scotland, 1640. since he finished his Animadversions, thought fit to add what follows out of the 56, 57, and 58, Pages, for the further illustration of what is said of the Letter of the Covenanting Lords to the French King in the 30th. Page.*

**B**UT to fill up the measure of their Treasons, they have endeavoured to settle Intelligences in parts beyond the Seas, and practised to let in Foreign Power into that Our Kingdom; as We are able to make appear under the hands of some of the chiefest of them; as if the fire, which by their own Rebellions they have already kindled within the bowels of that State, were not sufficient to consume it, unless they added fuel to it from abroad. And herein appears first their malignity to Us their Natural Sovereign, in that they had rather prostitute themselves to Foreign Government, and that such as is different in Religion, than yield conformity to Ours.

But because the World shall see that We charge them not, but upon very good and sure grounds, We have thought fit to set down here their own Letter: Of which We have given Our good Brother the *French King* account, being confident he will not assist any Rebels against Us. The Letter follows, with this endorsement, *Au Roy*, which in *France* is always understood from those Subjects only to their Natural Prince.

SIRE,

SIRE,

VOSTRE Majesté (estant l'asyle & sanctuaire des Princes & Estats affligés) nous avons trouvé nécessaire d'envoyer ce Gentilhomme le Sieur de Colvil, pour représenter à V. M. la candeur & naïveté tant de nos actions & procédures, que de nos intentions, lesquelles nous desirons estre gravées & écrites à tout l'univers avec un ray du Soleil, aussi bien que V. M. Nous vous Supplions doncques treshumblement (Sire) de luy adjouster foy & creance, & a tout ce qu'il dira de nostre part, touchant nous & nos affaires, estant tressassurés (Sire) d'une assistance égale à Vostre clemence accoustumée cydevant, & si souvent monstrée à ceste Nation, laquelle ne cèdera la gloire à autre quelconque d'estre eternellement,

Sire,

de V. M.

Les treshumbles & treshobeyssants & tressaffectionnés Serviteurs,

Roths. Montrose. Leslie. Mar. Montgomery. Loudoun. Forrester.

Englished thus:

SIR,

YOUR Majesty being the Refuge and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, we have found it necessary to send this Gentleman Mr. Colvil, to represent unto Your Majesty the candor and ingenuity as well of our actions and proceedings, as of our intentions, which we desire to be engraved and written to the World with a beam of the Sun, as well as your Majesty. We therefore most humbly beseech You (Sir) to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part, touching us and our affairs, being most assured (Sir) of an assistance equal to Your wonted clemency heretofore, and so often shewed to this Nation, which will not yield the glory to any other whatsoever to be eternally,

Sir,

Your Majesties most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate Servants,

Roths. Montrose. Lesly. Mar. Montgomery. Loudoun. Forrester.

Texts of Scripture; which the Presbyterian Preachers Blasphemously misapplied to the Solemn League and Covenant.

2 Kings 11. 17.

AND Jehojada made a Covenant between the Lord, and the King, and the People, That they should be the Lords People, between the King also, and the People.

Isaiah 44. 5.

One shall say, I am the Lords, another shall be called by the name of Jacob, and another shall Subscribe with his hand unto the Lord.

Josh. 24. 25.

So Joshua made a Covenant with the People the same day, and gave them an Ordinance and Law in Sichem.

Deut. 29. 25. Jerem. 22. 8, 9.

Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this Land, and to this great City? Then Men shall say, Because they have forsaken the Covenant of the Lord God of their Fathers, which he made with them, when he brought them out of the Land of Egypt.

2 Chron. 34. 31, 32.

And the King stood in his place, and made a Covenant before the Lord, &c.

1 Chron. 16. 15.

Be ye mindful always of his Covenant.

Jerem. 11. 2, 3.

Speak unto the men of Judah, and Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord the Lord God of Israel, Cursed be the man, that obeyeth not the words of this Covenant.

With many more which occur in their Writings. See Note (w.) on the first Speech.

#### ERRATA.

Page 37. line 29. for Twenty two read Twelve; on the Title-page of the Narrative, for 1669. read 1679

THE

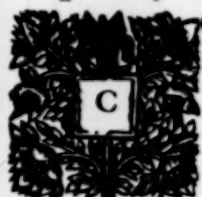


# THE LAST SPEECH OF

## Mr. John Kid.

*With Annotations thereupon.*

*Right Worthby and Well-beloved Spectators,*



Onsidering what bodily distempers I have been exercised under, since I came out of the <sup>a</sup> *Torture*, being scarce two hours out of my Naked Bed in one day, it cannot be expected that I can be in a Capacity for saying any thing to purpose in such a Juncture, especially seeing I am not as yet free of it; However I cannot but Reverence the good hand of God for good upon me, and desire with all my soul

<sup>a</sup> Which was applied to him to make him Confess his Accomplices in the Rebellion, and answer to such Questions, as Authority asked him in order to the perfect discovery of it; which before he was brought to the *boot* (for that is the name of the Instrument of Torture) he *Jesuit-like* refused to do. Contrary to the manner of the Primitive Christians (to whom the *Rebellious Covenanters* are blasphemously compared in the *Apology for the persecuted Ministers, and Professors of the Presbyterian reformed Religion* Printed 1677.) of whose behaviour at the criminal Tribunals *Tertullian* writing in his first *Apolog.* saith, That it was their Custom freely to Confess when they were examined by Authority. *Christianus vero—si denotatur gloriatur, si accusatur non defendit,*

*interrogatus vel ultro confitetur.* But the † *Rebellious Covenanters* quite contrary, when they are required by his Majesties Authority to declare either simply, or upon Oath, what they know of *Rebellious Field-meetings*, and the persons who were present at them, and disorders done therein, are wont to give either shifting Equivocating Answers, or else not to answer at all, contrary to their Allegiance as Subjects, and in contempt of the lawfull Powers, and of God who hath ordained them, but exactly according to the Doctrine of the *Jesuits* in the *Rhemish notes on the New-Testament Acts.* 23. which say. *If thou be put to an Oath to accuse Catholicks for serving of God as they ought to do, or to utter any innocent man to Gods enemies, and his, thou oughtest first to refuse such unlawfull Oaths; but if thou hast not Constancy and Courage so to do, know thou that such Oaths bind not at all in Conscience, but may, and must be broken under the pain of Damnation.*

† 2d. Act of the 2d. Session of the 2d. Parl. of Charles the 2d. began at Edinb. July 28. 1670.

to bleſs him for this my <sup>b</sup> *preſent* Lot. It may be there are a great many here that judge my Lot very ſad and deplorable. I muſt confeſs death in it ſelf is very terrible to fleſh and blood; but as it is an out-let to ſin, and an in-let to righteousneſs, ſo it is the Chriſtians great and unexpreſſible privilege; and give me leave to ſay this, that there is ſomething in a Chriſtians condition, that can never put ſin without the reach of unſufferableneſs, even Death, Shame, and the Croſs being enſlaved; and if there be Peace betwixt God and the Soul, there is nothing that can damp peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which is a moſt ſupporting ingredient in the bittereſt Cup, and under the Sharpeſt and <sup>c</sup> *ſureſt* Trial he can be expoſed unto. This is my mercy, that I have ſome-what of this

could Juſtifie, ſhall I ſay, or Sanctifie an Inſurrection of Subjects againſt their Sovereign ( which the defence of the Chriſtian name cannot juſtifie by the Goſpel ) and by conſequence make the Legal Fincings, Imprisonments, and Transportations of incorrigible Rebels Perſecution, their executions by Axes and Haltars Martyrdom, and themſelves Martyrs for the holy Jeſus, the Prince of Peace, who will not have even the very being of his Church and Goſpel defended by the Subjects Sword.

to lay claim to, viz. <sup>d</sup> *Intimations of Pardon and Peace* betwixt God and my Soul: and as concerning that for which I am Condemned, I magnifie his grace, that I never had the leaſt

ordinary, and unpromiſed favour, and given like the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, but to ſome of thoſe, who have truly ſuffered for the Cauſe of Chriſt.

But for ſuch a Malefactor as this, who lived in a ſtate of Rebellion againſt his Sovereign, and whoſe whole employment was to Preach his Subjects into Rebellion againſt him, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Presbyterian Diſcipline, of which the whole Church of God was utterly ignorant for almoſt 16 Ages: I ſay, for ſuch a Rebel as this to pretend to ſuch ſecret ſignifications of Pardon, from Gods Spirit at the hour of execution, when in the next words he declares his utter impenitence for his crime, can be nothing but a *deluſion of Satan*, or an effect of the ſame *Enthuſiaſm*, which makes them pretend to Praying and Preaching by Inſpiration, and other gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.

<sup>e</sup> *Challenge*, but on the contrary judge it my honour that ever I was counted worthy to be Staged upon ſuch a Conſideration. 3ly. Another thing that renders the Deſpicable lot of the Chriſtian Superable, is, that there is a felt

<sup>b</sup> As if this Rebellious Pſeudo-Miniſter, who helped to Preach eight or nine thouſand Subjects into arms againſt their Lawful Sovereign, Suffered for the ſame Cauſe as did the Bleſſed Apoſtles, who rejoyced that they were counted Worthy to ſuffer for the name of Chriſt. *Acts*. 5. 41.

<sup>c</sup> There is nothing more common, than for theſe Presbyterian Miniſters ( falſely ſo call'd ) to delude the poor people by abuſive Applications of, and alluſions to the paſſages of the Holy Scriptures, after the manner of the *Jefuits*. Thus he by this expreſſion of the *Fiery-Trial*, gives them occaſion to conſider, the Fincings, Imprisonments, and execution of the Rebels, as a Perſecution; which as Fire tries true from *faſe* Gold, would diſtinguiſh Sincere from Hypocritical Chriſtians, i. e. thoſe who would Suffer for Chriſts Sovereignty, and the Solemn League and Covenant, from thoſe who would deſert both. As if a Conſpiracy againſt the Apoſtolic Government of the Church Univerſal for above 1500 years ( for ſo the Covenant deſerves to be called )

<sup>d</sup> It cannot reaſonably be denied, but that God hath ſometimes irradiated the Souls of Confessors, and Martyrs at the time of their Sufferings, and begot within their hearts ſuch a ſecret ſenſe of his favour, as hath made them Sing in their torments, and rejoyce at death: but this is a very extraordinary like the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt,

<sup>e</sup> Behold good people how like a *Jefuit* he ſpeaks. He acknowledges that he never had the leaſt remorse, or accusation of Conſcience for his Treasons and Rebellions, but counted it his honour to die under the name of a Traitor and Rebel, for that *Many-headed Pope* the Presbyterian Government, which as the Kirk-men Teach, is the Royal Scepter of Chriſt.

and

and † *Sensible presence from the Lords* strengthening the Soul when most put to it; and if I could have this for my allowance this day, I could be bold to say, *O death where is thy Sting*, and could not but cry out Welcome to it and all that follows upon it; I grant the Lord by an Act of Sovereignty may go and come as he

appeared, notwithstanding all the Brandy and Cordials which he had drank, he speaks ambiguously about it, telling the people *he had ground to believe*, that more, or less God would perfect his own strength in his weakness; certainly he meant that God would yet put forth his glorious power in a greater degree in him, so that it should become more apparent to the Spectators, before he was turn'd off the Ladder, than at the moment when he spoke.

pleases, but yet he will never ‡ *forsake* his people, and this is a Cordial to me in the case I am now exposed unto; the exercising and putting forth of his glorious Power is able to Transport the Soul of the believer and mine above the reach of all sublunary difficulties; and therefore seeing I have hope to be kept up by his power, I would not have you look upon my Lot, or any other that is, or maybe in my case, in the least deplorable, seeing we have ground to believe that more or less he will perfect his power and strength in weakness.

That I may come a little to the purpose in hand, I declare before you all in the sight of God, Angels and Men, and in the sight of the sun and all that he has Created, that I am a

*nor to take his holy Spirit from him*, by which he was enabled to Govern his people. For God was wont to send his Spirit in visible impressions upon all those, whom he called to judge and Govern his people, as upon † *Othniel, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson, and Saul*, whom Samuel told, when he was to be made King, that *the Spirit of the Lord should come upon him for a Sign, and that he should Prophecie, and be turned into another man.* 1 Sam. 10. 6, 9. And at King Davids inauguration 'tis expressly said, 1 Sam. 26. 13. that Samuel *took the horn of oyl, and anointed David in the midst of his Brethren, and the Spirit of the Lord came upon him from that day forward*; this was the Spirit of Government, which consisted in a mighty power and impulse to do brave Heroical actions, and carried along with it all the Royal qualifications, that a man ought to have, whom God was pleased to call to the Helm. *Maimonides* calls it the Spirit of Fortitude, but he might as well have called it the Spirit of Wisdom, and Counsell, for it fitted the persons upon whom it came in all points for the Royal Office, and the Collation of it in visible impressions upon them was a Sign to the people that they were Authorized, and Commissioned by God. And therefore King David after the matter of *Uriah*, for which he deserved to be rejected, like *Saul*, prays God in a most penitential manner, not to cast him away from his presence, nor take away the Spirit of Government from him,

‡ That God also was sometimes wont to give unto his Martyrs the Spirit of Fortitude at the hour of death, as a sign that they were supported by him, and by consequence suffered for him, is plain from the Holy Scriptures, and both Jewish, and Christian Martyrologies; and therefore this wretch pretends here to this Sign also, that he might seem to die not a deplorable, as he speaks, but a glorious death, i. e. not as a Malefactor, but as a Martyr. But yet because he was conscious to himself how timorous he ap-

§ There are many Texts in the Old-Test. which speak of Gods forsaking, and not forsaking his people the Jews, and the Kings, whom he set over them, as his Viceroy, which are all to be understood in a Political sense. Thus 1 Sam. 12. 22. Saith the Prophet Fear not, for the Lord will not forsake his people, for his great names sake, because it hath pleased the Lord to make you his people. So 2 Kings 21. 13, 14. I will (saith God) stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and I will wipe it as a man wipes a dish—and I will forsake the remnant of my inheritance. So Psal. 94. 14. The Lord will not cast off his people, nor forsake his inheritance. So Psal. 71, King David prays God his rock and fortress to deliver him from the hand of his enemies, and not to forsake him, i. e. not to lay him aside in his old age, till he had shewn his strength to the generation in which he lived, and his power to every one that was to come. So also he prays God in the 51 Psal. not to cast him away from his presence, as he did Saul,

† Judges 3.  
10. 6. 34. 11.  
29. 13. 25.



which he had instead of a standing Commission from God. Upon these, and such like Texts, which are to be understood in a Political sence, hath been founded the Doctrine of *Spiritual desertion or the comings and goings of God from the Soul*, which hath been as usefull an engine for the Ministers falsely so called, to take fast hold on the Souls, and Purfes of their Melancholick Disciples, as the Doctrines of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, and Absolution hath been to the *Romish Priests*, of taking hold of the Souls and Purfes of theirs. For when a man oppressed with Melancholy, or Melancholick Doctrines, shall in his fits of dejection think himself deserted by God, will he not admire and reverence the very Shadow of that holy man whose Prayers shall prevail with God to return unto him again? And then after the recess of the Melancholick fit, which he is taught to believe is the comfortable return of the Spirit, he cannot but be very liberal to him, by whose powerfull intercession he hath received such a Divine benefit, a blessing better than life it self. I deny not but that God may sometimes beget Supernatural joy in the soul of an holy man, by impressing upon him a secret sence of his love, and likewise kindle the flames of Hell in the Conscience of a sinner, by impressing on his soul a secret sence of his wrath: But these are extraordinary ways of dealing with men, of which the Scriptures are silent; but he can no more impress the sence of his wrath upon the spirit of a gracious, then the sence of his love upon the spirit of a graceless Christian, nor secretly contribute to enslave, and torment the Consciences of good men with horror, or unreasonable jealousies and fears. Indeed nothing is more plainly taught in the Holy Scriptures than this; that God gives his holy Spirit of *assisting grace*, or which is all one, the gracious assistance of his holy Spirit to men, and upon certain provocations takes it from them again: and this is the only Scriptural desertion, and the only sence in which that word ought to be used. Away then with those Canting Phrases of Gods Going, and Coming to the soul in fits of supernatural joys and tears, with which the Coiners of the Doctrine of desertion teach, that the souls of holy Men are now transported, and then pressed down as it were to Hell.

most <sup>h</sup> *miserable sinner*, by reason of my original and actual transgressions, I must confess that they are more than the hairs of my head, that they are gone over my head, and altogether past reckoning, I cannot but say as *Jacob* said, I am less than the least of Gods mercies, yet I must declare to the Commendation of

<sup>h</sup> Yes a *Rebell*, a *Schismatick*, a *Blasphemous interpreter* of the Holy Scriptures, an usurper of the Ministry, who was guilty of all the blood which was shed under the Kings Standard on one side, and the Banner of Christ, as the Rebels in their Declaration Blasphemously called their Standard on the other. But these are not the sins, which he confesseth here, but sins of another complexion; and indeed it is almost impossible to have any reputation for holiness in the Kirk, unless a man hath been a great sinner, and Converted as *St. Paul* really was, and this Wretch pretends to have been,

by a *strong hand*, i. e. *tout d'un coup*, in a sudden miraculous manner. So that if a good Christian cannot tell the time, and place, and other circumstances of his Conversion, he shall still be looked upon as little better than an unregenerate man, though he be never so Moral and unblamable in his life. As if it were impossible for men to be good from their Childhood, or unscriptural to date their regeneration from the Font.

the <sup>i</sup> *freedom of his grace that to me*

<sup>i</sup> The word *Grace* proceeds from the Latin word *Gratia*, by which the ancient Latin Church rendered χάρις whereby

the Greek Translators rendred *Hben*, and *Hbesed*, whereof the former signifies *Favor*, *Kindness*, *Love*, *Mercy*, *Pity*, *Benevolence*, and the latter as *Maimonides* ( *More Nev. part 3. c. 53* ) observes, signifies a *free benefit*, or *gratuitous favor*, which is done to a person that was altogether unworthy of it, or else a greater favor and benefit, than the person on whom it is bestowed deserves. In which senses he saith it is opposit to *Tzedakah* which both signifies justice, and the due, which justice gives to every man. In this sence *St. Paul* saith, *Rom. 3. 24*. That we are justified *freely* by his *Grace*, and not by works, or perfect sinless obedience, because then the reward would be reckoned not of *Grace* but of *debt*, or *Justice*. Accordingly the *freedom* of Gods grace consists in the gratuitous redemption of the world through Jesus Christ, which was a meer favor, or such a benefit as mankind was altogether unworthy of, and which God in justice

was not bound to do. I say it consists in the gratuitous redemption of all mankind, and not in the arbitrary calling and election of this, and that particular man, as this Kirk-Preacher here suggests. So that when a man speaks of the free Grace of God, in reference to his own particular, if he speak Orthodoxly, he ought to be understood of his own share in the general free redemption, and not of the free Grace of God in saving of him, and reprobating or passing over others, which is the Kirk, and Kirkers usual sence of *free grace*, according to the Assemblies larger and shorter Catechisms, which they have *Homologated* for their own. But this is strange Divinity, and unworthy of the Divine Nature, which Phancys God out of meer wilfulness and ostentation of his *Soveranity*, to pluck one man out of the fire and leave another, as capable of his mercy, to burn eternally therein. God indeed is a most Absolute *Sovereign*, but then, as *Cicero* saith in his Books of *Laws*, he is *infinita mens & ratio*, and his Absolute *Soveranity* is under the Government and regulation of his infinite Wisdom, which is utterly incapable of Fondness, and Antipathy, or the unaccountable loving of this, and hating of that particular person, and must needs restrain him from Arbitrary ways of dealing with his rational creatures, *Angels* and *men*.

who am the least of <sup>k</sup> *Saints* was his grace made known, and that by a strong hand, and dare not but say that he hath loved me and washed me in his own blood from all mine iniquities; and well is me this day, that ever I heard or read that Faithful saying, *That Jesus Christ came to the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief.*

2ly. I must declare in his sight, that I am the most unworthy that ever opened a Mouth, to Preach the insearchable riches of Christ in the Gospel; yea the sence of this made me altogether unwilling to set about so great a work, until by the importunity of some (whose name is favory to me and many others) I was prevailed with to fall about it, and howbeit out of great weakness I went about it, yet I am hopeful, not altogether without <sup>l</sup> *fruit*, and if I durst say it without vanity, I never found so much of the <sup>m</sup> *presence of God* upon my spirit, as I have found in exercises of this nature, though I must still confess attended with unexpressible weakness; <sup>n</sup> *and this is the main thing for which I must lay down my tabernacle this day, viz. that I did Preach Christ and the Gospel* in several places of this Nation, for which I bless him, as I can, that ever such a poor and obscure person as I am, should be thus priviledged by him for mentionmaking of his grace,

<sup>k</sup> Such a Saint as the Primitive Christians never heard of, nor all Antiquity can shew.

<sup>l</sup> Very true, for his Country saw the fruits of his, and his Brethrens Ministry, in numberless Rendevouzes of Rebellion, and at last in a Covenanted Army in the Field.

<sup>m</sup> Here the Enthusiast Blasphemously miscalls the irregular *beat* of his Phancy elevated in Preaching, the cursed Zeal with which he Preached, and the sensual *pleasure and satisfaction* which he took to see himself crouded about with troops of Auditors in the Field, the *presence of God upon his soul*.

<sup>n</sup> Here like a *Jesuit* he pretends to Suffer upon a Religious account, though he really suffer'd as a Disturber of the Government, and as a Traitor and Rebel to the King. He suffer'd not for Preaching, but for Preaching in arms, and among armed-men, who assembled themselves on Stated days every week against the Law, and defended their Assemblies by force of Arms. Or if he suffer'd for Preaching, it was not for Preaching Christ and the Gospel, but for Preaching up Rebellion, which is contrary to both. For Preaching against the Established Government and the Laws. For railing in their Preaching against the King and his Counsellors, telling the people that he was guilty of Perjury, and had no right to Govern, and that they endeavoured to drive Christ out of the Kingdom. Lastly, for Preaching up the Covenant, and the *Presbyterian Govern-*



as I was able. 3/y. Give me leave to add this word further, that though there be great appearances of spreading and Preaching this glorious Gospel, yet I fear there is a snare at the bottom, and poyson in the dish, which may gender and be productive of not only greater scarcity of honest Preachers and Preaching, but a real Famine of the Word, this I say is my fear, and I hope God will keep his  
 ° *Servants and people* from fomenting any thing to the detriment of the Gospel. I am afraid that the Lord is beginning to multiply his stripes upon this land. We have walked *Seven times* contrary to him and therefore we may lay our account ( unless repentance prevent it ) that he will walk seven times contrary to us: there is more and more ground to fear that there is a *Sword bathed in heaven*, a glittering Sword sharpened and furbished against thee O guilty and Harlot *Scotland*; let this Land consider how neutral and indifferent we are grown in the *matters of God*, even like *Ephraim* long ago a Cake not turned, which is upon the matter Contrary to, and inconsistent with our Solemnly sworn Covenant; next how far are we fallen from our *first Love*? How far are we degenerate from that noble Vine into which the Lord did once Plant us? How lamentable it is! How far we have gone the way to *Egypt*, drinking the waters of *Sihor*? Again What a woful Spirit of bitterness is predominating in this Land? and in this Age *Ephraim vexing Judah*, and *Judah Ephraim*, *Manasseh Ephraim* and *Ephraim Manasseh*; the growing doggedness of this temper almost amongst all, portends terrible things from the Lord against this Land.

4/y. Reformation according to our sworn Covenants is neither designed nor practised. What means all this deformation that is come to pass in these days instead of the Contrary? How many of us have been Pulling

ment, of which they assert the same things, as *Priests and Jesuits* do of the Pope.

o i. e. The Kirk-Ministers and people from seeking, or accepting of any *indulgence* from the King. For to Preach by leave and permission from the King, is to grant that Ministers depend on the Secular power for the actual exercise of their Ministry, and supposeth that they may receive limitations and restrictions from the Magistrate, which is utterly inconsistent with that independent Authority which they derive immediately from the King in *Sion*, and destructive of his *Supremacy, Kingdom, Crown, and Scepter*, as may plainly be seen from Mr. *Browns Jesuitical Letter*, Printed at the end of these two Speeches, and the Apology.

p i. e. Several times contrary to him in setting up Episcopacy.

q Well threatned.

r i. e. In the matter of the Covenant.

s viz. Our love for the Presbyterian Discipline.

t viz. Episcopacy.

u viz. The indulged Ministers against the Field-Preachers, such as *Welsh, Kid, King, Cameron, &c.* and the Field-Preachers against the indulged Ministers; who hold, that as long as they are not subjected to the Bishops, it is not against their Solemn League and Covenant, nor inconsistent with the Ministerial Authority, nor destructive to Christs Sovereignty, to accept of a limited indulgence from the State. And therefore they were content to be obliged not to Preach without their Parishes, not to Baptize Children of other Parishes, nor to engage Parents at the Baptism of their Children, to bring them up according to the Solemn League and Covenant, nor to Preach against the Government of the Church or State, and to observe the 29th. of May. &c.

down

down that which we have been building up? how many of us call good evil, and evil good, disowning and disavouching that which sometime we judged our honour to testify for and avouch? 5ly. A Publick Spirit in contending for God and his matters, in substance and Circumstances according to our vows and obligations, is much amissing amongst us at this day. Further I am pressed in Conscience to make mention of all those great and glorious things that God hath done in *Scotland* since the year 1640. and 1641. the abundant measure of his Spirit that was poured out upon his servants and people, and the renewing of that National Covenant twice in that year, and once in the year following, the Blessed efficacy that the Gospel had at that time in all the Corners of the Land, & the great things that followed upon it, which while improven, made our Land most desirable. \* 2ly. *I bear my Testimony to the Solemn League and Covenant, as it was Professed & Sworn in Scotland, England, and Ireland, in the year 1643.* Yea as it was timed and taken by the Representatives and Body of these 3 Lands, which tie is binding and can by no power on Earth be infringed, whether Secular or Ecclesiastical, and that it was our glory to be counted a people married to the Lord: we and ours from one generation to another, from henceforth and for ever; so that Prelacy as it is now Established by a pretended Law, is destructive down-rightly to the Sworn Covenants, yea not only

it, of whom he promised to complain to his Master Christ. But in effect he complained of them to the Committee of Estates and general Assembly, to get them Forfeited and Excommunicated. But the great Trick of the Kirk-Preachers, hath always been to Parallel the Solemn League and Covenant with the *Mosaical* Covenant, which was a Political as well as a Religious Contract betwixt God and the *Jews*, by which he as it were Espoused himself to that people, and that people to himself. Hence they are wont to apply whatsoever is said of the *Mosaical* throughout the *Old Test.* to the Solemn League and Covenant, and the making, keeping, or breaking thereof. Were the *Israelites* Married to God by the one: so were the *Scots* and *English* Married to him by the other? Was the forsaking of the one, the cause of all the judgments which fell upon them: so

\* The Solemn League and Covenant, is the *Alpha* and *Omega* of the Kirk-Doctrines and Cause. Hence they commonly call it the *Holy League and Covenant*, as both the *Pope* and *Jesuits* called its Prototype, the League of the *Papists* in *France*; and as the *Pope* compared the Duke of *Guise* to *Judas Maccabæus*, and the *Jesuits* to *Gideon*. ( *Davila lib. 9.* ) So the Kirk-Preachers taught, that the Lords who began the Design of the Covenant, acted like the *Jewish* Worthys in promoting of it, and were moved and directed so to do by the secret motions of the Spirit of God. In the beginning of the Covenant, they set up one Mrs. *Mitchelson* a *Ministers* Daughter for a Prophetess, who pretended to be Inspired with a Spirit of *Divination*, and she said, that it was revealed to her by God, that their Covenant was approved by him, and ratified in heaven, and Mr. *Henry Rollock* a Covenanting-Minister being desired to pray with her, answered he durst not, because it would not be good manners in him to speak, while his Master Christ was Speaking in her, and yet at length she openly confessed, that she was an Impostor, and that the *Ministers* told her in private what she should speak. The Author of *Naphtali*, pag. 240. brings in Mr. *Hugh Mackell* a Rebel-Preacher saying, *Whatever indignity is done to the Solemn League and Covenant, I esteem it no less than doing despite to the Spirit of Grace in his most eminent exerting of himself, and that it is a sin of the same nature with that of those men, who ascribed Christs casting out of Devils to Belzebub, but far greater.* And Mr. *Andrew Cant* in a Sermon at *Glasgow* 1638, pressing the people to take the Covenant, said, that he was sent to them with a Commission from Christ, to bid them Subscribe the Covenant, which is Christ's Contract, and that he himself was come a woer to them from the Bride-Groom, and called unto them to come, and be hand-fasted unto Christ by Subscribing the Contract, and that he would not depart the Town till he had got the names of all that should refuse to Subscribe

the forsaking of the other (and not the Kings blood) is the cause of all the judgments that have fallen upon these? Were the King aswell as the people obliged to keep the former: so his Majesty aswell as his Subjects are obliged to keep the latter? Did that oblige the Children in the loyns of their Parents; so doth this oblige the people of both Nations, and their Posterity for ever more? Hence they Sacrilegiously Baptize their Children into it, and expressly renew it every time they receive the Communion, which was instituted as a Seal of the Covenant of Grace. Was the breaking of that a Revolting from God: so the rescission of this is an utter Apostacy, especially of Scotland, from God? So that the Whig-Apostles never speak of their Country since the Establishment of Episcopacy, but as of an Harlot and Idolatress, that hath forsaken her first Love, and Married her self to another God. It would be endless to recite all their Blasphemies about it. They make the last great Plague, and the Burning of London, to have been judgments for burning this Covenant there by the hand of the Common-Hangman: (Poor mans Cup of cold water, Printed in 4<sup>o</sup> 1678. pag. 19.) Nay they Teach that his Majesty, like the Revolting Kings of Israel, and Judah, hath no right to Govern, because he hath Revolted from it and Christ. Nay they damn all the Edicts and Acts of Parliament that are contrary to it, as the Act Statuting, that no Leagues, nor Bonds be made among the Subjects of any degree, upon whatsoever Pretence without his Majesties, and his Successors Privy and Consent. The Act rescinding and Annulling all the pretended Parliaments held 1640, 1641 &c. The Act for the Reestablishing of Episcopacy. The Act concerning the Declaration to be Signed by all in Publick Trust, as Privy-Councillors, Members of Parliament, Judges, Magistrates in Corporations, Justices of the Peace &c. A Copy of which I think fit to set down here.

**I** do sincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to Subjects upon pretence of Reformation, or other pretence whatsoever, to enter into Leagues or Covenants, or to take up Arms against the King, or those Commissionate by him, and that all those Gatherings, Convocations, Petitions, Protestations, and erecting and keeping of Counsel-Tables that were used in the beginning, and for carrying on of the late Troubles, were Unlawful and Seditious. And particularly that these Oaths, whereof the one was commonly called the National Covenant (as it was Sworn and explained in the year 1638, and thereafter,) and the other intituled a Solemn League and Covenant, were, and are in themselves unlawful Oaths, and were taken by and imposed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom, against the Fundamental Laws and Liberties of the same, and that their lieth no obligation upon me, or any of the Subjects from the said Oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any Change, or Alteration of the Government either in Church or State, as it is now Established by the Laws of the Kingdom.

The Act for Security of the Persons of regular Ministers. The Act against Separation and Disobedience to Ecclesiastical Authority. The Act of Supremacy (of which more hereafter) The Act against unlawful Ordinations. The Act for an Anniversary day of Thanksgiving for his Majesties Restauration, which the Rebels in their lesser Declaration on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May last, call an Act appointing an holy Anniversary day to be kept on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, for giving Thanks for the up-setting of an Usurped Power, destroying the interest of the Church of Christ in the Land, which is to set up the Creature to be worshiped in the room of our great Redeemer, and to consent to the assuming of the Power, which is proper to the Lord alone. And therefore they burnt it publicly at the Cross of Glasgow on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May last, with the Act of Supremacy, the Act concerning the Declaration, and the Rescinding Act. And as they damn all these Acts upon the account of the Covenant, so they also damned the Bond which the Council tender'd in 1677, and 1678. The Author of the poor mans Cup calls it the Bond of Disloyalty to Christ. And Mr. John Dickson in Crambughlane Preaching at a Conventicle May 26<sup>th</sup>. 1678. Said that those, who had taken it had committed a greater sin than the sin of the Holy-Ghost, and were already in hell. To conclude all their other Blasphemies about the Covenant, there goes about among them a Manuscript, written to prove that it is unlawfull to hear the Church-Ministers, wherein the Author most Blasphemously affirms, that the Solemn League and Covenant is nothing else, but the substance of the Covenant of Grace.



Prelacy, Popery, <sup>x</sup> *Malignancy* and <sup>x</sup> *Loyalty*.

Heresie, but <sup>y</sup> *Supremacy*, and every thing Original upon and derivat from it. <sup>3/y</sup>. I can but make mention of that honorable and noble practise, that this Land was privileged with, *viz.* that after both defections the Lord put it in the heart of Christs Church and State, to renew those Covenants again with the National and Solemn League and Covenants, together with an acknowledgment of sin and an engagement to Duty, and that in the close of that year; which performance was attended with so much of the

<sup>y</sup> His Majesties *Supremacy* over all persons, and in all Causes Ecclesiastical within the Kingdom of Scotland, was asserted by the first Act of the Second Parliament began at *Edinburgh*, Octob. 19. 1669. The Kirk-Ministers have ever since rail'd against this Act above all the rest, saying, that Jesus Christ is quite exauctorat and unkinged by it, that it hath overthrown his *Prerogative Royal*, and made the King *Supreme in the house of Christ*. That the Three Estates have thereby Blasphemously declared, that they have *no King but Cæsar*, that it is most expressly contrary to the 2<sup>d</sup>. *Psalm*, and that by subjecting all Ecclesiastical matters to the Imperial Scepter, they have given a *sinful mortal power* to King it over the house of God. *Insomuch that Jesus Christ hath neither name, nor thing*

of Kingly power left him by this Cursed Act, by which all power Ecclesiastick is declared to be the intrinsic and inherent *Prerogative of the Crown*. In particular the Author of the *Poor Mans Cup*, &c. saith, that he admires the *Patience of God*, that the Nation wherein such a wickedness was decreed, hath not before this Perished from under heaven; and saith that the *Question is put by the Governours to the followers of Christ in the fields*, with greater contempt than Pilate put it. *What? is Jesus than your King?* And then he crys, *Oh noble Cause!* *Oh who would not rejoyce to enter the List of contradiction with these his enemies, and have once an opportunity to say, Yes he is a King, and will be a King when you are gone, and will prove himself higher than the Kings of the Earth, by rescinding your Supremacy that Idol of his jealousie and indignation, and object of his revenge.* Nay he saith, that it is a pure, perfect, and unparallel'd contradiction to the *Doxology of the Lords Prayer*, and that never any thing was so like it in Sence and Sound, as what is Recorded by the Holy Ghost of the King of *Babylon*, *Isa. 14. 13, 14. I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God, I will sit also upon the Mount of the Congregation in the sides of the North, I will ascend above the heights of the Clouds, I will be like the most High.*

<sup>z</sup> *Lords power and presence*, that it was like a Resurrection from the Dead to all, that were Witnesses thereof, both Speakers and Hearers, that many were forced to Cry out, The joy of the Lord is our strength, God of a truth is here.

<sup>4/y</sup>. I dare not but add this in the case wherein I now stand, *viz.* I dare not but add my Concurrence with, and Adherence to all these publick Testimonies, Protestations, and Declarations, that have been owned, evinced and remitted by all the Presbyterian Ministers and Professors that appeared against the publick resolutions, for taking in the Malignant Party into Judicatories

<sup>z</sup> So he Blasphemously calls a National Fascination to Rebellion, and Schism.

and Armies, as also I joyn my Cordial adherence to and with them that protested against the 2 general Assemblies at Saint Andrews, who endeavored to approve what the Commission had done in the year 1650. and 1651. in reference to the intrusting of the Malignant Party, which, as was said by these protesting worthies, laid the foundation of all that has come or may come upon us. I hope this will not offend any.

5/y. I am bound in Conscience in the next place, to testify my dislike and abhorrence of that horrid, cruel, barbarous, unheard of and unparalleled Deportment and practice of that 1. *Act Recissory*, wherewith as at one Lash, by an Act of that Precipitate Parliament, they endeavored to Rescind, Annul, and Repeal all those great and glorious things that the 2. *strong hand of the Lord* had done in Scotland for more than 20 years bygone, over the belly of so much opposition and standing contradiction of proclaimed and avowed Adversaries upon all hands, yea I proclaim my abhorrence of all the Confusion, 3. *Blood, murder, Fencing, Confining, Imprisonments, Stigmatizing*, with other unexpressible Cruelties that has issued from that Cursed Generation these 19 years bygone; and moreover, I leave my Testimony against all other Confusions, Imprisonments and Blood, that is or may be intended against these in the Land, who de-

*the Lord helped him to spoil their Sport*) So I judge it is beyond question with every Sober man, that Mr. Mitchells death hath done more hurt to its Contrivers and furious drivers, than ever his life could have done, even though he had shot again, and hit that unhallowed Mark, &c.

sign to + keep their garments clean, whether in Prison, or out of Prison.

6/y. As concerning that which is the ground of my death, viz. 5. *Preaching* here and there in some Corners, I bless my God I have not the least Challenge for it, though these that

1. This is the 15th Act of the First Parliament, begun at *Edinburgh*, Jan. 1. 1661. whereby all the pretended Parliaments from 1640. to the end of 1648. and by consequence the Established Presbyterian Government were all rescinded, and Annulled; and they also rail as much against it, as against the Act of Supremacy, and burnt them like two Idols both together.

2. So he Blasphemously calls a strong hand of Rebellion.

3. He means the Blood first, of those who were Executed soon after his Majesties Restauration, as of *Wariston, Guthrie, &c.* 2/y. of those who were Executed for the Rebellion at *Pentland-Hills* 1666, who in *Naphtali* and *Jus populi vindicatum* are called *Worthies, precious Saints, and Martyrs, &c.* and lastly the Blood of *Mitchel*, who suffered for attempting the Murder of the late Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, since effected by them, whom the Author of the *Poor Mans Cup* hath Canonized for a Saint and Martyr in this Parallel with *Samson*, which I shall set down in his own words, pag. 35. *First Samson was a Rachel and Roughbanded Saint, ready to Pelt the Philistines on all occasions: yet Secondly, the Holy Ghost for all the faults that followed him hath Recorded his name, and Enrolled him in the number (even while the names of many others are left out) of those Eminent Worthies.* Heb. 11. *And so he hath made the name of Mr. Mitchell Savory, and as he took many Testimonies from him at all his appearances to the Cause, so he owned him in the end, and honoured him to die, Witnessing a good Confession, which will be on Record to Posterity. Thirdly as Samson did more mischief to the enemies of the people of God at his death, than in all his life (for when they sent for him to make themselves merry at a sight of his misery,*

+ He means from Idolatrous revolting from God into the Episcopal Church, which is not the house of Christ, as they Sacrilegiously teach.

5. See note n.



† If weekly Meetings of Hundreds and Thousands of Armed-men in the Fields, nay if weekly Meetings of Armed-men formed into Troops, and Companies ready upon all occasions of *probable capacity* to Fight against the King, for the King in *Ston*, were *Rendezvouzes of Rebellion*, then your Field-Precachers were Rebels, and the Field-Meetings *Rendezvouzes of Rebellion*. What else were those Field-Meetings of which was gathered that Army of Saints, which fought the Kings Forces on *Pentland-hills* in a ranged Battel 1666? What else were those numerous Field-Meetings a little more than 2 years since, upon his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale's going down into Scotland? which moved the Privy Counsell to advise his Majesty to send *English* forces to lie in readines upon the borders, and to order the Viscount *Granard* to lie with an Army on the *Irish* Coasts ready to be Transported upon occasion, and likewise upon the motion of the *Marquess of Athol*, to procure the Lords of the Highlands a Commission to March with their Vassals under the Command of his Majesties Major General into the *West*, to prevent the Field-Conventicles from running together into a general Rebellion, as they did the last *May*. Or to come to particulars, what else was that Field-fast near *Jedburgh* in *Tirest-dale* towards the latter end of *March* 1678? where there were present 7 Preachers, and 5000 people, (the men being armed) to seek God for 3 things. 1st. That he would be pleased to put an end to the Persecution of his people in this Kingdom. 2ly. That he would have mercy on all those that took the wicked Bond, and give them grace to repent of it. 3ly. That he would bless with success, those noble Lords, who were gone to London. What else was that formidable Conventicle in the March the *May* following, where were Assembled eight or 9000 people to receive the Sacrament, and renew the Solemn League and Covenant, of which the Privy Counsell gave his Majesty an account? What else was that Conventicle near *Dunbar* shortly after, where they fell upon the Kings Forces of the *Basse*, that went out to dismiss them, and killed one of the Souldiers, and wounded more? But if I should go on to enumerate all the Field-Meetings till that great one which began the Rebellion in *May* last, I should rather write an History than a Commentary, but I shall be ready to give a particular account of them, when a good occasion shall require.

Condemned me were pleased to call these Preachings † *Rendezvouzes of Rebellion*, yet I must say this of them, They were so far from being reputed so in my eyes, that if *ever Christ had a Party or people wherein his Soul took pleasure*, I am bold to say these meetings were a great part of them; the Shining and Glory of our God were eminently seen amongst these Meetings, the Convincing Power and Authority of our Lord went out with his Servants in those Blasphemously Nicknamed Conventicles; this I say without Reflection upon any.

7ly. As for that other Clause in my Indictment, upon which my Sentence of death is founded, viz. Personal presence twice or thrice with Parties whom they called Rebels, for my own part I never judged nor called them such. I acknowledge and do believe that there were

6. The Kirk-Precachers are always wont to speak Great and Magnificent things of their Followers, whereas for the general, they are the most ignorant, and wicked sort of people perhaps in the Christian world. For their ignorance take this as a Specimen or proof of it.

Edinburgh 13. of May. 1678.

**T**His day a number of persons being brought before a Committee of Council, and examined concerning their being at a Field-Conventicle, at or near Catcart upon Sunday the 12th of this instant, one of them, named David Ferguson, being interrogate, why he did not keep his Parish-Kirk, answered, that he had Sworn the Covenant, whereby he was obliged not to hear Bishops, Deans, or Curates. And several of these persons being asked, why they went to Conventicles, declared it was to bear the truth of God, and being interrogate what that truth of God was, declared they could not tell, and diverse of them being asked, acknowledged, that they could not say the Lords Prayer, the Belief, nor the ten Commandments. This is attested to be true by me Mr. Alexander Gibson one of the Clerks of his Majesties Privy Council.

Alexander Gibson.

The number of persons which were brought before the Committee were about 70, being the very same Company of men, who were brought into the *Thames* about 9 Months since in order to their Transportation (according to the 2d. Act of the 2d. Session of the Second Parliament of Charles the II. began at *Edinburgh*, July 28. 1670.) into his Majesties Plantations for obstinately refusing, when they were examined by Authority, to discover any persons who were at that Field-Conventicle, in coming from which they were taken, and the disorders transacted therein. And were not the Disciples of these Field-Propheets very ignorant, it were not possible for them to believe Episcopacy to be an *Antichristian*, and Presbytery, which is but of yesterday, to be a *Divine* institution, to Baptize their Children into the Solemn League and Covenant, to think it unlawfull to hear Protestant Bishops and Episcopal Ministers Preach, and call that Church Idolatrous which hath neither Idols nor Ceremonies, nor any Liturgical Forms, nor anything which can give the least umbrage of suspicion to tender Consciences falsely so called, but worships God in the self-same manner as they themselves do. I speak not this to upbraid our *Sister-Church* (for which I dayly pray) with her defects, for her imperfect state is not her fault, but her misery, caused by the iniquity of the times, but to shew the gross ignorance of the people, that are led away from her Communion, and Believe, that the use of the Lords Prayer is Idolatrous, that they cannot profit by the Church-Ministry, nay that all the Bishops and their whole Clergy never did nor never will Convert a Soul, as Mr. John Dickson Blasphemously Preached at Pollemadie in June 1673.

And then for their wickedness I refer the Reader to the 3, or 4 last pages of *Ravillac Redivivus*, though I could say an hundred times more upon this Subject, having by me a Manuscript of 20 sheets, Entituled the Principles and Practises of the Phanticks, under the heads of *Jesuitism*, *Anabaptism*, *Blasphemy*, *Cheating*, *Lying*, *Cruelty*, *Slandering*, *Fornication*, *Bestiality*, *Witchcraft*, &c. which perhaps ere long may be made publick for the honour of these *Gnostics* and their Teachers; but were there no more to object against them, but their Rebellious and Schismatical Principles and Practises, 'tis enough to make us conclude, without breach of Charity, that they are not a Party or people, wherein the Soul of Christ takes pleasure, as this deceiver confidently boasts.

many that came in the 7. simplicity of their hearts, like those that followed *Abfolom* long ago. I am as sure upon the other hand that there were a great Party there that had nothing before them, but the reprocurring of

7. The Scripture speaks of those who followed *Abfolom*, as Rebels, though many of them followed him in the simplicity of their hearts, as many of the *Western* people followed their Preachers into the late Rebellion, & thought that they did God good Service in so doing, being deceived by this Murderer of Souls and his Bretheren, who

make the people ignorant, and then abuse their ignorance to the ruine of their Bodies, Souls and Estates.

the

the <sup>b</sup> *Lords fallen* work and the restoring of the breach which is void as the Sea, and I am apt to think that such of these that were most Branded with mistakes will be found to be most single. But for <sup>9</sup> *Rebellion* against his Majesties Person or just Government, the Lord knows my Soul abhors the *name and thing*. Loyal have I been, and wille every Christian to be so. I was ever of this judgment, to give to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*, and to God the things that are Gods.

8/y. Since I came to Prison, I have been much Branded with many things which I must call aspersions, whereof <sup>10</sup> *Jesuitism* is one. I am hopefull there was never one that did converse with me, that had the least ground of laying this to my charge, and know not how its come to pass to cast it upon me, nothing except implacable prejudice that some have been prepossessed with against me; I am not ignorant that near 2 years ago, a person of Note in this Church, who living was pleased to say, that I had died in that judgment, but after he was better informed, he changed his Note and said it was misinformation; but now the Lord, before whom I must stand and be judged by and by, knows, that I have a perfect abhorrence of the things, and it was never my intention directly or indirectly. Though I must confesse some few years bygone some were pressing with me, that I might Conform and embrace Prelacy; but for Popery and that trash it came never nearer my heart than the Popes Conclave, or the *Alcoran*, which my Soul abhors.

their Subjects, and that if he perform not his part, they ought not to perform theirs. Nay is it not *Jesuitism* to Teach, that the <sup>f</sup> Supream power is lodged originally in the people, which they may take from the Prince, when he is no longer worthy of it, and that the <sup>g</sup> Primitive Christians did not take Arms against the persecuting Emperors for the same reason, that Christians take not up Arms in the Ottoman Empire, because they had not sufficient force? Is it not *Jesuitism* to assert that a good intention will hallow a wicked action, or which is all one to Rebel, Murder, and Rob to advance the cause of God? Is it not *Jesuitism* to compare Protestant Princes to Heathen, idolatry.

8. So he Blasphemously calls the Covenant, and Presbyterian Discipline.

9. He means Rebellion in his own *Jesuitical* sence.

10. Neither thou pretended Minister of the Gospel, nor thy Brethren will ever be able to wash off the *aspersions of Jesuitism*.

<sup>a</sup> For is it not *Jesuitism* to maintain, that the Rebellion of Church-men is not treason, because they are not subject to the Secular power? Is it not *Jesuitism* to carry on Solemn Leagues and Covenants among the Subjects without, and against the Princes consent? <sup>b</sup> Is it not *Jesuitism* to Teach, that Kings ought to be Excommunicated, and that Subjects ought to withdraw their Obedience from them when they are Excommunicated, nay as soon as they begin to abuse the power against the Church? <sup>c</sup> Is it not *Jesuitism* to deny, that Kings have power to Convocate and dissolve Ecclesiastical Synods and Councils? And that no power on Earth is above that *Manyheaded-Pope, the general Assembly*, which hath power to make Laws without the King? Is not *Jesuitism* to condemn the *English Liturgy*, and to forbid the people under pain of publick *Penitence*, or Damnation, to read it, or any books of Episcopal Divines, nay not to have them in their houses, nor to converse with Church-Ministers (whom they scornfully call *Curates*, and the Bishops Journey-men) much less to hear them Preach? Is it not *Jesuitism* to assert, that Salvation is not to be had out of the narrow Communion of Presbyterian Churches, and to invent and impose *new Articles of Faith*, as, That Episcopacy is an Antichristian constitution, that it is Popery to observe the <sup>†</sup> Apostolical Festivals, or to administer the Communion in private to sick persons, and that Presbytery is the sole and unalterable Government of the Church. Is it not *Jesuitism* to Write and Preach against the *Scottish Act* and *English Oath* of Supremacy, and to <sup>d</sup> absolve the people from their Oath of Allegiance, under a pretence of the Kings being an enemy to Christ? Is it not <sup>e</sup> *Jesuitism* to Teach that there is a Reciprocal obligation betwixt Kings and

<sup>a</sup> 6 Book of Spot. w. Hist. particularly the story of Adam Blake.

<sup>b</sup> Buchanan. de jure regni. Lyfismachus Nicanor letter.

<sup>c</sup> Spot. w. Hist. 6 book. the Covenanters protestation July 1638. published at the Cross in Glasgow. Lyfism. Nic. Naphthalis.

<sup>†</sup> The passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and the descent of the Holy Ghost.

<sup>d</sup> Known in his Chron. pag. 78, and 79.

<sup>e</sup> Lyfism. Nic.

<sup>f</sup> Buchanan de jure regni.

<sup>g</sup> Buchanan de jure regni.

<sup>g</sup> Buchanan de jure regni. Naphthalis probable capacity.



trous and persecuting Tyrants? And to distinguish betwixt their *Private* and *Political* Persons, and to make the people believe they fight for the King when they fight against the *anointed* man? Is it not *Jesuitism* to Teach that <sup>h</sup> Magistrates in Church-matters have only a *Cumulative* but not a *Privative* power, and that all the Secular power on Earth cannot deprive or silence a Minister, because every Minister is so by special mission from Christ, and in his Ministerial capacity is subject to none but him? Is it not *Jesuitism* to assert, that the King hath not power to Ordain a publick Fast or Festival, and that <sup>i</sup> *passive obedience, and Submission to the unrighteous Decrees and unjust Sentences, and punishments of Rulers, is as great a sin as active obedience to their unrighteous laws?* Is it not *Jesuitism* to assert, that King Solomon deprived <sup>k</sup> Abiathar the High-Priest, not as a King but as a Prophet, and that the Ministers ought not to Preach by permission from the Magistrate, nor to have the exercise of their Function regulated by Secular Edicts and Laws? Is it not *Jesuitism*, nay the usurpation of the Inquisition it self, <sup>l</sup> to meddle with every thing, even Edicts, and Acts of Parliament, under the colour and pretence of Scandal, and use the holy Communion as a Seal to other Oaths, Vows and Covenants, besides that of our Baptismal Covenant with God? Is it not *Jesuitism* to assert, that a <sup>m</sup> private person may kill a man in publick Authority by *impulse*, and that such Acts are heroical, like that of Phineas, and have wrought great deliverances for the Church of God? Is it not *Jesuitism* to represent Christian Protestant Kings as a judgment and not as a Blessing to the Church, by telling the people, <sup>n</sup> there were no Kings before Cains days, that God gave the Jews their first King in his wrath, and that the Church was well Governed for above 300 years before there was any Christian King? Lastly, is it not *Jesuitism* to teach the people, that they ought to labour for an holy hatred of our Reformed Bishops and their adherents, and that it is <sup>p</sup> lawful and laudable to kill them and their Curates, and that *Protestant Prelacy is an enemy to true Godliness, and admirably fitted to bring the Church unto a slavish dependance upon the King?* If these be *Jesuitical* Doctrines, thou blind leader of the blind, then thou and thy brethren will never be able to wash off the aspersions of *Jesuitism* with all the water in *Tweed* and the *Forth*.

<sup>h</sup> Apology  
Chr. Printed  
1677.

<sup>i</sup> Apology.  
Sect. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Apology.

<sup>l</sup> *Spotm.*  
Hist. lib. 6. An.  
1596.

<sup>m</sup> *Naphtali* about Mr. Mitchels attempt. *Knox* in his Chronicle applauds *Norman Leslie* killing the Cardinal at St. Andrews, and *James Melvin* calls it a godly fact, and *Leighton* in his *Sions Plea* saith, that *Feltons* killing the Duke of Buckingham was an heroical and laudable fact. See also *Mitchels* Speeches in *Ravillas Redivivum*.

<sup>n</sup> The information for defensive arms. *Sions Plea*, pag. 196.

<sup>p</sup> *Naphtali*, *Jus populi vindicatum*. *Mitchels* greater Speech in *Ravillas Redivivum*. The introduction to the Apology.

oly. I have been also <sup>11.</sup> *branded with Factionness, divisive and seditious Preaching and practices*. I must confess if it be so, it was more than I was ever aware of, according to the measure that God hath given me, it was my endeavour to *Commend* <sup>12.</sup> *Christ to the hearts and souls of people, even repentance towards God and Faith towards Jesus Christ according to the Word of God, Confession of Faith, 13. Catechisms larger and shorter, yea, I did press them also (when God did cast it in 14. my way) to remember their Sworn Covenant in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, and that they would make it their work to stand to it in substance and Circumstances, seeing it is so cried down in this day, and if this be divisive*

<sup>11.</sup> Not by the Church-Ministers, but by the indulged brethren, who think it consistent with the nature and design of the Covenant, and the Supremacy of the King of *Sion*, to accept of his Majesties indulgence, which *Brown, Welsh, King, Kid, Cameron* and the rest, declare is unlawful to do.

<sup>12.</sup> In his Sovereignty, Royal Prerogatives, Crown and Kingdom.

<sup>13.</sup> The Assemblies larger and shorter Catechism.

<sup>14.</sup> That was as often as he thought fit.



10ly. I am pressed in Conscience to bear my testimony against, and abhorrence of every invasion, usurpation or incroachment that is made or hath been made against Christs Royal Prerogative, Crown and Kingdom, original upon, and derivate from that which they call the <sup>15</sup>. *Supremacy*. I was never free to lay a Confederacy with those that I judge in a great part have laid a Confederacy in that thing, and the Lord is my Record, I was never free in my Conscience for that which is called the <sup>16</sup>. *Indulgence*, neither *first* nor *second* as it was tendred by the Council, and as it was embraced by a great many Godly-hearted men in this Island; yea, it was never lawful nor expedient to me: and in effect this is the main ground why I am rendred obnoxious to so many imputations, that I have been all along contrary to their Indulgence in my judgment. I confess I have been of that judgment, and die in the judgment contrary to it; and this I crave leave to say without any offence to

<sup>15</sup>. See note y.

<sup>16</sup>. And as they hold it unlawful to take the Kings Licences and *Indulgences*, as being inconsistent with their immediate Mission from Christ, and his Prerogative Royal: So they think it unlawful to accept of any *Accommodation* from the Church, as being incompatible with their Solemn League and Covenant, that *Oath of God*, as they call it, by which they are obliged to endeavour the extirpation of Episcopal Government, and set up Presbytery in its stead. Dr. Leighton sometimes Bishop of *Dumblane* and Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, offered them Six Articles of accommodation in his Diocess, by which he did really *unbishop* himself, and left himself nothing of the holy Apostolic Office, but the empty name.

### The ARTICLES.

1st. That if the Dissenting brethren will come to Presbyteries and Synods, they shall not only be obliged to renounce their own private opinion anent Church-Government, and Swear or Subscribe any thing thereto; but shall have liberty at their entry to the said meeting, to declare, and enter it in what form they please.

2ly. That all Church-Affairs shall be managed in Presbyteries or Synods, by the free vote of Prebyters, or the Major part of them.

3ly. If any difference fall out in the Diocessan Synods betwixt any of the Members thereof, it shall be lawful to appeal to a Provincial Synod, or their Committee.

4ly. That Intrants being lawfully presented by the Patron, and duly Tried by the Presbytery, there shall be a day agreed on by the Bishop and Presbytery for their meeting together, and for their Solemn Ordination and Admission, at which there shall be one appointed to Preach, and that it shall be at the Parish-Church where he is to be admitted. Except in the case of impossibility or extream inconvenience; and if any difference fall in touching that Affair, it shall be referable to the Provincial Synods or their Committee, as any other matter.

5ly. It is not to be doubted but my Lord Commissioner his Grace will make good what he offered anent the Establishment of Presbyteries and Synods, and we trust that his Grace will procure such security to those Brethren for declaring their judgment, that they may do it without any hazard in contravening any law, and that the Bishop shall humbly and earnestly recommend this to his Grace.

6ly. That no Intrans shall be engaged to any Canonical Oath or Subscription to the Bishop, and that his opinion anent that Government shall not prejudice him in this; but it shall be free for him to declare.

These are the Articles of accomodation, in which that Prelate most unworthily parted with his Negative voice, wherein the very essence of Episcopal power consists. † For

† Ignatius  
ad Smyrn. ad  
Philadelph. ad  
Trall.

and *ὁ Χρὸς ὁ ἱερὸς* &c. was the Apostolical rule of Church-Government, (can. 39. Sanct.

† The Epistle  
Dedicatory to  
Bishops Halls  
Episcopacy.

† Can. 29.  
Concil. Chal-  
ced. *Marb.*  
Blastar Cap.  
28. in E.

*Sanct. Apost.*) and therefore next to the appearance of a Bishop before a meeting of Presbyters, upon a citation from them, and renouncing the Episcopal Function before them, and craving their pardon that he had accepted of it, as † Graham Bishop of Orkney did; his forsaking of his Negative power by a contract with his Presbyters, and committing all Church-Affairs to their sole management (not to mention the remitting of their Canonical Oath) would have been as Sacrilegious a concession, as a Bishop, *quatenus* such, could make. He had thereby virtually reduced himself into a Presbyter, which the Primitive Church did abhor as † Sacrilege, and would undoubtedly have deprived and Excommunicated, if not Anathematized, any Bishop that durst have been so perfidious to the Apostolick cause. But yet though beyond all example he cut the very Nerves of Episcopal Jurisdiction in these Articles of Accommodation, the Nonconform Ministers scornfully rejected them, and wrote against them in a book intituled, *The Case of Accommodation &c.* Printed in 4<sup>o</sup> 1671.

the Godly and 17. Learned that are of another judgment. I judge it fit likewise in this case to leave my Testimony 18. against the *stent taxation cels* that hath been so unjustly imposed, so irrelevantly founded and vigorously carried on by the late Convention of Estates, and meerly upon no other account imaginable, but to

17. There is not one Learned man among them, unless he be a Priest (for so custom emphatically calls the *Romish* Presbyters) or a *Jesuit* in Masquerade.

18. Last Summer was Twelve-month, the Convention of Estates gave his Majesty a Five-months Tax, or 30000*l.* Sterling a year, for five years successively, to maintain a Regiment of Foot, and 3 Companies of Dragoons, and 3 Troops of Horse for suppressing of the Field-Conventicles. This

Act was like to be such a Blow to the Cause made up of Faction and Schism, that it was vigorously opposed under some colour or other by an insignificant contrary Party, who were not the *Sixth part* of the House. And as soon as it was passed, the Field-Preachers, who had told the people before, that the Convention would come to nothing, fell immediately to Preach against the *Five-months Tax*, telling them, that it was given by the enemies of Christ to drive him out of the Kingdom, and that it would be as great a sin to pay it, as it was to *Judas* to betray Christ. Nay they told them, that this was the *day of Christs enemies*, and the *power of darkness*, and the *very Nick of temptation*, which God permitted to trie whether they would have Christ for their King or no, and charged them, as they would answer it before them at the great day, not to forsake him contrary to their *Holy Covenant*, by sinfully complying with such an *Antichristian* Act. Their people upon this were so affrighted, that many of them rather than pay the Cels, will suffer distreint; and in particular the Earl of *Dun-donalds* chief servant fell perfectly distracted by trouble of Conscience for having assisted his Lord at *Renscot* in laying the Cels upon that Shire. And the very same Sanctified *Ruffians*, who murdered the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* in *Fife*, had several days before laid wait for the Collectors of this Tax.

19. i. e. of  
Christ as King  
in *Sion*, of the  
Covenant & of  
the Presbyte-  
rian Govern-  
ment, that *Pat-  
tern* in the  
*Mount.*

make a final extirpation 19. of *Christ his Gospel and Ordinances out of the Land*: and how lamentable it is to consider how many Professors did willingly pay it, and were most forward for others to do the same. In the next place, though to many I die desired, yet I know, not to a few my death is not desired; and its the rejoycing of my heart that I die in the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath loved me and given himself for me, and in the Faith of the Apostles and Prophets, and in the Faith that there is not a name under Heaven by which men can be Saved, but by the name of Jesus, and in the Faith of the Doctrine, Worship and Government of the Kirk of *Scotland*, as it is now Established according to the Word of God, Confessions of Faith, Catechisms larger and shorter like as I leave my Testimony against Popery, Perjury, Prophanity, Prelacy, Heresie, and every thing contrary to sound Doctrine. In the close, as a dying Person, and as one who hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be Faithful, I would  
humbly

humbly leave it on the Godly Ministers to be faithful for their Lord and Master, and not to hold their peace in such a day, when so many ways are taken for injuring *him*, his Name, nay his Sanctuary, Ordinances, Crown and Kingdom. <sup>20.</sup> *I hope there will be found a Party in this Land, that will contend for him and his matters upon all hazards:* and as faithfulness is called for in Ministers, so Professors would concern themselves that they countenance not nor abate any thing that is inconsistent with their former principles and practices. I have a word to add further that God is calling persons to repentance, and to *do their* <sup>21.</sup> *first Works.* O that Scotland were a mourning Land! And O that Reformation were our practice according as we are Sworn in the Covenant! Again, Christians of grace and experience would study more stability and straightness in this day, when so many are turning to the right hand and so many to the left: <sup>22.</sup> *He that endures to the end shall be saved:* he hath appointed a Kingdom for such as continue with him in his temptations. Next, as ever ye would expect to have the *Form of the house of God shewed you in all the Laws thereof, goings out thereof, and comings in thereof,* then think it no shame for you for all that hath been done; sitting down on this side *Jordan* is like to be our bane. Oh when shall we get out and run after him with all our hearts, and never rest till he return. I commend my Wife and poor young ones to the care and Faithfulness of the God of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, the God that hath led me to this day, and who is the God of my Salvation, be their God and my God, their Father and my Father. I am also hopeful that Christian Friends and Relations will not be unmindful of them, when I am gone. Lastly, I bear my Testimony to the Cross of Christ, and Bless him, that ever he counted me worthy to *appear for him in such a Lot as this.*

Glory to him that ever I heard of him, and that ever he fell upon such a method of dealing with me as this. And therefore let none that loves Christ and his righteous Cause be offended at me; and as I lived in the Faith of this, that the three <sup>24.</sup> *Kingdoms are married Lands,* so I die in the Faith of it, *that there will be a Resurrection of his Name, Word, Cause and Covenant,* and of all his interests therein, though I dare not determine the time when, nor the manner how, but leave all those things to the infinitely wise God, who hath done and will do all things well. Oh that he would return to this Land again, repair our breaches, take away backslidings, appear for his Work! O that he were pacified towards us! Oh that he would pass by *Scotland* once again, and make our time a time of love! Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, himself hasten it in his own time and way. The Lord is my Light, my Joy, and my Life my Song and my Salvation. The good of his chosen be my mercy this day, and the enriching comforts of the Holy-Ghost keep up and carry me fair through to the glory of his Grace, to the Edification of his people, and my own eternal Advantage. *Amen.*

20. Well threatened false Prophet.

21. To assert the Covenant.

22. Consider how Blaphemously he applies this Scripture.

23. Of the Presbyterian Government & Discipline.

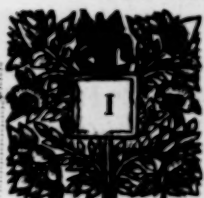
24. Married to God by the Solemn League & Covenant. See more in Notes upon 117.

*John Kid.*

T H E  
 LAST SPEECH  
 O F  
 Mr. John King.

*With Animadversions thereupon.*

*Men and Brethren,*



Do not doubt but many, that are Spectators here, have some or other end, then to be edified by what yee may see in the behaviour, or hear in the last words of one going to eternity: But if any of you have ears to hear, as I doubt not but some of this great gathering have, then I desire your ears and attention, if the Lord shall help and permit me to speak to a few things. First I bless the Lord (since by his wisdom and holy providence he hath carved out my lot to die after this manner) that I die not <sup>a</sup> *unwillingly*, nor by force. It is true, I could not do this of my self neither, allways having an inclination to put the evil day farr away; but *through* <sup>b</sup> *grace* I have been helped, and by his grace yet hope to be, and though possibly I might have shunned such a hard sentence, if I had done things which (though I could) I durst not

<sup>a</sup> As unwillingly as other malefactors use to do, for in the interval betwixt his condemnation, and execution, he by his friends used all the means he could to procure his Majesties pardon.

<sup>b</sup> There are two sorts of courage: one *natural*, and the other *supernatural*, or inspired, and the raising of the *Animal Spirits* by strong liquors (for Aristotle compares Enthusiasm to wine) will plausibly counterfit both. Hence we see that common Malefactors, partly to rid their minds of the torment of fear, and partly out of a vain glorious desire to be mistaken by the rabble for men of great natural courage, who contemn Death, privately fortify themselves before the time of execution by strong spirits, and cordials, by vertue of which they often appear to die like gallant men. In like manner religious Malefactors (I mean such as pretend to suffer upon the account of religion) that they may rid themselves of the terrors of an evil conscience, and appear to be assisted, like Martyrs, with supernatural courage, highten their spirits at the time of execution, by strong liquours, and cordials, which make them brisk, and bold, and insensible of Death, and Hell. But then as the former sometimes drink to much, and



so discover the Cheat by dying Drunk: so the latter (who are so much the more execrable Hypocrites of the two, as it is a greater sin to counterfeit *Grace* than nature) sometimes by taking too much of the creature discover their imposture by their Drunkenness, and by dying not like *Martyrs*, but fops. This was the deplorable case of *Hugh Peters*, whose sad condition that good penitent Mr. *Cook* lamented at his execution. This likewise was the case of the *Pentland-Rebels* who were executed at Edinburgh, who were so stupified, and befotted with the Sack, and Brandy, which they drank on the day of their execution, and the day before, that they died like Beasts, without so much as making a prayer to God, or desiring others to pray for them; to the great scandal of all good Christian spectators, who saw them, and whereof many yet a live can witness, what I say. Lastly, this was the case, though not to that degree, of *Gaven* the Jesuit, elder brother to this deceiver, who delivered as much, as he was permitted to speak, of this speech (which he had composed before) in such a broken confused manner, as Drunken men use to do, in so much, that the orthodox spectators pityed the wretch, and his brotherhood were ashamed. See notes d, and f, on the first in Speech.

do, no not for my Soul, yet I durst not ( God knows ) redeem my Life by the loss of my Integrity and Honesty. I bless the Lord, that since I have been apprehended and a prisoner, God hath very wonderfully upholden me, and made out that comfortable word, *c Fear not, be not dismayed, I am with thee, I will strengthen thee, I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteousness*, Isa. 41. 10. I thank the Lord he never gave me leave so much as to have a thought,

<sup>c</sup> I shewed before on note c, in the first speech, that this sort of Ministers fallily so called, have a *Jesuitical* trick of abusively applying the holy Scriptures to themselves.

Here we may see another notable instance of it, where the deceiver applies to himself this comfortable message, which the Prophet delivered in Gods name to the Jews, as they were his People in a civil sence, bidding them not to be afraid, or dismay'd, because he would strengthen them, help them, and uphold them against their Enemies: so that those who were incensed against them should be ashamed, and confounded, and those that warred against them should be as a thing of naught. But here he blasphemously

ly asserts, that God miraculously upheld him, and made out these comfortable words to him, as if the Holy Ghost had whispered them in his conscience as expressly, as the Prophet spoke them unto the Jews. Or as if whatsoever was written in the holy Scriptures, were to be so exactly transcribed in the works of Providence, that even the Prophetical passages, and predictions were to be accomplished over and over in different Ages; or as if the latter works of Providence, not only in general, but as to particular Societies, and Persons did answer as exactly to some or other places of the Scripture, as Face answers to Face in a Glass. This Doctrine is taught in a Book called, *The fulfilling of the Scriptures*, Printed 1669. wherein are such Blasphemous applications of the Scripture-promises to the Condition of the Covenanters in Scotland, as cannot be read without horror, and indignation, by any Orthodox man. Ever since the Re-establishment of Episcopacy, the Conventicle-Preachers have assured their People, that God would destroy it again, and restore *his own work*; but then as often as they began to withdraw from them, seeing no probability of such a turn, then they Preached, and Wrote of the great promises which were made to Believing, as that *Faith was the Evidence of things not seen*, and that they ought to believe the naked Word, when there was no appearance of its out-making, according to 2 Chron. 20. 20. *Hear O Judah, and Inhabitants of Jerusalem, believe in the Lord your God, so shall you be Established, believe his Prophets, so shall you Prosper*. But then when things fell not out according to the prediction of these false Prophets, but quite contrary, then they had another Scripture to quiet their Disciples, viz. *That the Righteous ought not to be afraid of evil tidings, but that their hearts should be established trusting in the Lord, and that they should not be afraid, untill they had seen their desires upon their Enemies*, Psalm. 112. 7, 8. Therefore they ought to get their Spirits quiet in a recumbency on God, and to trust his Testimony more than their own Hearts, because there was then a most sensible outgate, when there was least of Sense and most of Faith; that when their Cause was lowest, then God called them to throw themselves on the promise, and that their most desperate venture of Life, Estate, and Credit upon the Promises of God, hath usually had the richest Incom, and that those

who have been most Friends to Faith, have had Faith most a Friend to them. And then if through Faction of great men, or secret favour of Fanaticks in Power, any thing happened for their advantage, then there was another comfortable Triumphant Text to be applied to them, to make them expect greater matters yet, *viz. Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the Fig-Tree, believest thou? Thou shalt see greater things than these.* Joh. 1. 50. Therefore is it good with *Caleb*, to take part with the promise against the discouraging reports about the *Anakims*; for believing doth always make way for sense, so that it is good to trust in God in a day of streights, seeing his returns have been not only according to Faith, but have often exceeded their belief. Then whatsoever happens for the Interest of the Cause, is not only the reward of their Faith, but the answer of their Prayers; for the People of the Lord can testify by experience, that when they have oft with *Hannab* gon in before the Lord in the bitterness of their Spirit, they have been made to return with a sensible, and marvellous change in their case. For God is near unto his People, in what they call upon him according to his Word. Those who have a desire to see more of their Blasphemous applications of Scripture, may consult the foresaid Book, out of which I have taken these. See also Notes *e. b. o.*

much less to seek after any <sup>d</sup> Shift, that might have been in the least sinful. I did always, and yet judge it

<sup>d</sup> Yet when he was charged by authority for having born Arms in the late Rebellion, he denied it. Upon which one, or more of those who apprehended him being called, Swore that they took him with

Swords and Pistols, to which, being asked if that was not to bear Arms, he said, that he meant he never bore Arms in an Hostile manner, *viz.* in his hands.

better to <sup>e</sup> suffer affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a season. Therefore I am come hither to Suffer, and to lay down my Life. I bless the Lord, I dye not as a Fool, though I acknowledge, I have nothing to boast of in my self. I acknowledge, I am a Sinner and one of the chiefest, that has gone under the name of a Professor of Religion, yea, amongst the unworthiest of those that have

<sup>e</sup> The Posterity of *Abraham* were made Gods *Segoulab*, or peculiar People, by virtue of that particular Contract which he was pleased to make with the Father of the Faithful, and seal with the Sacrament of Circumcision: and therefore if *Moses*, when he came to years of Discretion, had owned himself for the Son of *Pharaohs* Daughter, and so had succeeded to *Pharaohs* Imperial Throne, he had virtually abjured the Blood of *Abraham*, and thereby renounced God, his only Church and People, and that holy Covenant, to which were annexed so many Promises and Privileges, as singular Prerogatives of that

People, and particularly, that of them, as concerning the Flesh, *Messias* himself should come. In this therefore the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, commends the Faith of *Moses*, that he chose rather in a time of Persecution to own his Brethren, the only Church and People of God, and the Covenant by which they were espoused to him, than to enjoy the Temporal pleasures of a Crown, to which he could not have succeeded without renouncing of *Abrahams* Blood. But what is this to the case of this Deceiver, who was hanged for rebelling against his natural Prince? Yes, it was a brave Text to induce the People to believe, that he was a great Prophet, and the Familiar Friend of God, as *Moses* was, and that the Covenanters are Gods People, and the People of the Episcopal Churches, but as *Egyptians*, whom it is Lawful and Meritorious to Rob, and Kill.

Preached the Gospel. <sup>f</sup> My Sins and Corruptions have been many, I have defiled me in all things, and even

<sup>f</sup> See note on *b.* in the first Speech.

in the following and doing <sup>†</sup> of Duty, I have not wanted my own sinful infirmities and weakness. So

<sup>†</sup> By Duty here, I suppose, he means Prayer, which the Presbyterian Writers Emphatically call by that name. And as in other things, so especially in this, they use to perplex, and enslave the consciences of men, by representing the natural infirmities

ties of human nature, for great sins, which either are not sins at all, as those first motions of the *appetite*, which the Schoolmen call *motus primo primi*, or else but common irregularities of our corrupt nature, which God will never lay to our charge; unless we indulge, and promote them. Such as are extravagant thinkings, which proceed from the nimble and disultory nature of the imagination, which will make Excursions, when the mind is most serious, and intent. No man can be so intent upon a Mathematical demonstration, but *wandering* thoughts will interpose, whether he will or no, and inspite of his uttermost attention so interrupt him, that he will sometimes loose the connexion, and be forced to begin his demonstration again. Besides some things, and accidents will make such deep impressions upon our phancies, do what we can to resist them, that our minds will rave upon them in our Studies and Prayers, and in such cases God who knows whereof we are made, better than we know our selves, will be so far from imputing them unto us, that, if we manfully resist them, he will pity our infirmities, and accept of the will for the deed. I make this remark, because there is nothing more common than to find our modern Pharisees, with their Mouths full of tragical lamentations, and complaints of the common infirmities of human nature, without taking notice of their own, on their Parties presumptuous sins. Like this deplorable wretch, who here takes pains to confess, that he wanted not infirmities in doing of Duty, which no meer man ever yet wanted, but says nothing by way of contrition for his Treasons, Schisms and Rebellions, which is in plain *English* Pharise-like to *swallow a Cammel, and strain at a Gnat*.

that I may justly say, I have no righteousness of my own, all is like filthy Rags; *But* *g* *blest be God*, that there is a Saviour, and an Advocate Jesus Christ the righteous; and I *do believe*, that Jesus Christ is come into the World to save Sinners, of whom I am the chief, and that through Faith in his Righteousness I have obtained Mercy, and that through him and him only I desire to have a happy and glorious Victory over Sin, Satan, Hell and Death, and that I shall attain unto the Resurrection of the Just, and be partaker of Eternal Life; *I know in whom I have believed that* *h* *he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day; I*

ple to whom he Preached) *against that day*, as if he were put to Death for Preaching, and they were persecuted for hearing the Gospel Preached.

*g* What Episcopal Protestant doth not think himself bound to bless God upon the same account? or doth not believe the same things of Jesus Christ? or hath not the same trust and affiance in him, though I hope better grounded than his is? but he must make himself talk at this rate to insinuate to the People, that he Suffered for preaching these Gospel-Truths.

*h* By citing part of this passage, 2 Tim. 1. 12. he Jesuitically insinuates, as if the whole were applicable to him, and by consequence, that he Suffered for the same cause, as the Apostle did, *viz.* for Preaching of the Gospel. For the Verse begins thus: *For the which Cause I also suffer these things, nevertheless I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded, that he is able to keep, that which I have committed unto him* (he means either his Preaching, or the Rebellious Peo-

*i* *have in my poor Capacity* Preached Salvation through his Name, and as I have Preached, so do I believe, and with all my Soul I have Commended and yet I do Commend to all of you the riches of *k* *his free Grace* and Faith in his name, as the *alone and only way* whereby ye can be saved. It may be many may think (but

*i* And do not Protestant-Bishops, and their Clergy Preach Salvation, in Christs name, and Christs alone?

*k* See note *i* in the first Speech.



I bleſs the Lord without any <sup>1</sup> *ſolid ground*) that I Suffer not as an Evil Doer, and as a buſie Body in other Mens matters, but I reckon not much upon that, (having the Teſtimony of my Conſcience) *for it was the* believe, that ſuch a man Suffered as Chriſt?

<sup>1</sup> Is there then no *ſolid ground* to believe, that a man, who Blaſphemouſly Preached Rebellion in the name of God, and who preached it in Aſſemblies of Armed men in the Fields, and who preached thoſe Aſſemblies into a Marching Army, and who Marched himſelf along with them in Arms, I ſay is there no ſolid ground to an Evil Doer, and not as a Martyr for

<sup>m</sup> *Lot of our bleſſed Lord himſelf*, and alſo the Lot of many of his eminent and precious Servants and People, to Suffer by the *World as Evil Doers*. yea, I think it, I have ſo far ground not to ſcare at ſuch a Lot, that I count it my *Non-ſuch honour*, and (Oh what am I that I ſhould have been honoured ſo, when ſo

<sup>m</sup> Is it not great Blaſphemy in this Traitor to compare his Lot firſt with the Lot of Chriſt, who was put to Death for aſſerting, that he was Meſſias, and the Son of God? And 2<sup>ly</sup>. with the Lot of his faithful Witneſſes, who were put to Death by the *Jews* for maintaining that Jeſus, whom they had Crucified was the Meſſias, and that *God had Raiſed* him from the Dead, and had made him the only Mediator betwixt God and Man, and that Salvation was to be had

in no other name but his; And likewiſe Suffered by the *Gentiles* for preaching againſt Idolatry, declaring unto them, That God who made Heaven and Earth was the only true God, and that Jeſus whom the *Jews* Crucified, was raiſed from the Dead, and was the great piacle for the ſins of the World, &c. For which of theſe Truths, or for what other Article of the Creed, or for what Doctrine of the Goſpel profeſſed by the Catholick Church did this Blaſphemer Suffer, that he durſt compare his Lot to that of Chriſt, and the primitive Chriſtians? It is not the Suffering, but the cauſe for which any man Suffers, that can juſtify ſuch a parallel; otherwiſe, all Malefactors might take the confidence to Blaſpheme, as well as this Traitor and his Brethren, who pretend to ſuffer for Chriſt, and be conformed unto him in his Sufferings, when they are put to Death for moſt Hainous crimes. So that Execrable wretch <sup>†</sup> *Mitchel*, declared in the Speech which he threw among the Spectators, That *he died a Witneſs for Chriſts deſpiſed Truth and Intereſt, which God called him to ſeal with his Blood*. So *Naphtali* page 226. brings in thoſe, who were hanged at *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 7. 1666. for the Rebellion at *Pentland-hills*, ſpeaking thus, *We are Condemned by Men—but this is our rejoicing the Teſtimony of our Conſcience, that we Suffer not as Evil Doers, but for Righteouſneſs, for the Word of God, and the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt*. Would you know the Righteouſneſs for which they Suffered? It was their Covenant, the Presbyterian Government, and the Supremacy of the King in *Sion*. Things and notions which the Primitive Chriſtians never knew, nor heard of, nor whereof one title is to be found in their Writings, or in the Word of God.

† In *Ravillae Redivivus*.

many Worthies have <sup>n</sup> panted after the like, and have not come at it) and my Soul rejoyceth in being brought to a Conformity with my bleſſed Lord, and Head, and ſo bleſſed a Company in this way and Lot. And I deſire to pray, that I may not be to any of you to day upon this

<sup>n</sup> If the Worthies of the cauſe pant after this incomparable honour, why doth not their mighty zeal and ambition render them impatient like ſome of the Primitive Chriſtians, who not being able to ſtay till God called them, preſented themſelves before the criminal Tribunals, fearing leſt they might want an opportunity to dye for the name of Chriſt. Did the Covenanters ſo pant after the honour of Martyrdom, we ſhould ſee the Rebels render themſelves in Troops to

Authority, and here men not Arraigned cry out in the chamber of criminal Juſtice, and *we were at Bothwel-Bridge*, we ſhould ſee them throng to bear their Teſtimony at the *Croſs*, or in the *Grave-Market* of *Edinburgh*, where Mr. *Welſh* hath foretold, (and I hope in this he is a true Prophet) that he muſt *gloriſie God*.



account a *Stone of Stumbling* or a *Rock of Offence*, and blessed is he, that shall not be offended in Christ, and his poor Followers and Members, because of being Condemned by the World, as evildoers. As for those things for which Sentence hath passed against

o In the Scripture every thing, or Person, that is an occasion of a Christians forsaking or falling off from Christ, or the Christian Religion, is Metaphorically called, a *Scandal*, a *Stone of Stumbling*, and a *Rock of Offence*, and any man (even our blessed Redeemer) who spoke, did, or suffered any thing that accidentally deterred others from believing in Christ, or that gave him occasion to desert him or his Doctrine, is said

to have offended (or *Scandalized*) them, or given them offence, in which sense 1 Cor. 1. 23. Christ is said to be a Scandal, or *Stumbling-block to the Jews*, and Luk. 7. 23. faith our Saviour, *Blessed is he, that shall not be offended in me*, i. e. *who shall not take occasion to desert, or deny me, at the time of my Sufferings.* (See also *Matth. 17. 27. 18. 6. 26. 31. 33.*) Therefore this Baptemer here applies to himself the very words of the Apostle speaking of Christ crucified; nay, the very words of Christ himself, to induce the poor People to believe, that the very cause of the *Covenanters*, is the very cause of *Christianity*, and so deter them, upon the Execution of the Rebels, from quitting the *curst* *Rebellious* cause.

me, I bleis the Lord, my *heart doth not Condemn me*, *Rebellious I have not been*, neither do I judge it to be Rebellion for me to have indeavoured in my capacity what possible I could for the born-down and a *Ruined Interest of our Lord and Master*, and for the relief of my poor Brethren.

p Is not this in effect to assert with the *Jesuits*, That a good intention, or meaning, doth hallow a bad Action.

q He means by *Episcopacy* and *Supremacy*, with respect to the former, of which the Interest of Christ was universally ruined from the time of the Apostles till the *French-Reformation*, and with respect to

the latter, from the time of *Constantine* the first Christian Emperour, till the time when the Popes under the pretended Vicarship of Christ, (the King of *Sion*) Subjected the Empire unto the Church. And therefore (good Christian People) is not this a blessed cause, which must have obliged Christians to separate from the Catholick Church in the purest times, the age of the Apostles (for they were Bishops) and the age next unto them, and to have rebelled under a pretence of Religion, and defending the Interest of Christ against the first Christian Emperors, to whom the *Greek*, and *Latin* Churches attributed as much Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters, and over Ecclesiastical Persons, as the *English* and *Scottish* do to the King. They a convoked

as the *English* and *Scottish* do to the King. They <sup>a</sup> convoked general Councils, sat in them among the Patriarchs, Bishops, and Presbyters, made <sup>b</sup> Orations upon Ecclesiastical matters to them, and by their <sup>c</sup> Subscriptions consented to, and confirmed, what was determined therein. And Councils, wherein they did not sit, used always to beseech them to <sup>d</sup> ratify their Decrees, Βασιλεῦ, ἐπισημίζουσαι ἐπισυνέχουσαι, καὶ σφραγίζουσαι, ἐπιτρέψουσαι καὶ σφραγίσουσαι Συμβούλιον τὸν Ἰσχυρόν. They had power to <sup>e</sup> erect new Bishopricks, to abolish old ones, to <sup>f</sup> dispense with the Ecclesiastical Canons, and to order many things in Church-Matters, which were not defined therein, as is plain out of the *Code* and *Novelles*, and the *Capitularia*, of the ancient *French* Kings. They were Privileged to come to the *g* Altar, when all other Laies were forbidden, and the Clergy to shew how sacred their Persons were, and that the concerns of the Church ought to be their chief care <sup>h</sup> called them *Priests*, and *Bishops*, which in these days would pass for *Episcopal tantivies*, as the traitorous Author of the *Appeal* thinks he wittily speaks. There consent was requisite to the Election of Bishops, nay, they often nominated the Persons to be Elected, and had power to <sup>i</sup> forbid the Bishops to Ordain, which by the leave of the *Romish* and *Kirk-Writers*, I take to be a *Privative* power. Lastly, They had

a 1 *Con. Nicen. by Constant. 1 Con. Constantinop. by Theodos. Sen. Con. Eph. by Theodos. Junior. Con. Chalced, by Marcion.*

b c Syn. Oecumen. Oſava. Where  
are the Speeches, and Subſcriptions  
of Baſilius the Emperor, and Leo.

d Epist. Concil. Constantinop. 1. ad  
Theodosium.

c Can. 12. and 16. *Concil. Chalced.*  
Balsam. in 16. can. *Concil. Carthag.*

f As *Theodosius* in the Election of *Nectarius*.

g. 69. *Can. Concil. Sexti in Trullo.*

h Gror. de imperio summar. potest.  
C. 2. 7.

Nov. 3. c. 1. *Sancimus igitur.* The reason, which the Emperor *Justinian* gave for that Law, was the excessive number of the *Clergy*, which was disproportionate to the *Places*, and *Revenue* of the Church. The Law and the Preface to it, deserves to be considered by the Right Reverend, and worthy Fathers of our Church.

a power

† *Novil. 123. c. 1. Sancimus igitur, quoties Episcopum opus fuerit ordinari — sed etiam illum qui præter hoc presumpserit ordinare, segregari uno anno a sacro ministerio.*

k *Cod. l. 1. Tit. 1. 6. Anathematizamus Nestorium, 2. Eutychetem, 3. Apollinarium.*

l The Author of the Apology.

m *Calder-Woods altare Damascenum.*

*Naturâ insitum est omnibus regibus odium in Christum. The same is to be found in Rutherford's Lex Rex.*

a power to suspend † Bishops, and Presbyters, and also to k *Anathematize* Hereticks, which signified a power of pronouncing them rightly and duly Anathematized, and of doing many other things, with respect to the Church-matters, and Church-men, and because the two Sister-Churches and their Clergy assert as much power to be due to the King in such Causes, as the Kings of *Judah*, and the Christian Emperors had, therefore the *Kirk-Precachers* call them † *Episcopal-Eraſtian* Churches, and their Ministers, and Bishops, *Court-Parasites*, and when they argue from the example of the best *Judean* Kings, and the most Pious Christian Emperors; m They can tell them by Authority that in all *Kings there is a natural enmity against Christ*; nay, they tell the People, that the

Bishops, and their Clergy have ruined the Interest of Christ; and that if they will have Christ for their King, they must rise up to destroy the Idol of Supremacy, and Anti-Christian Prelacy which supports it; and therefore this miserable Wretch, being conscious to himself of so good a Cause, faith, His heart did not condemn him of Rebellion, for having endeavoured in his poor capacity to uphold the born-down, and ruined Interest of Christ. I once had the diversion to hear a *Kirk-Disciple* rail at the *Reſcinding Act*, and *Act of Supremacy*, which gave me occasion to shew what great power the Greek and Latin Churches granted to be due to the Christian Emperors in Church-matters, to which he answered me, That it was always natural to Clergy-men to flatter Kings, and Emperors, and great men, just as I have read in one of the Letters which Mr.—sent to all the Bishops of *Scotland*, *That Pride was always a natural sin to the Clergy*, which he spoke upon the occasion of their keeping of Coaches, and admitting of their Secular Titles, for which I likewise find them censured by the Viperous Author of the *Reformed Bishop*, Printed lately at London.

*Afflicted and* † *Persecuted*, not only in their Liberties, Priviledges, and Persons, but also in their Lives, therefore it was that I joyned with a

† It hath always been the custom of Sectaries to miscall the Execution of the Laws, by the odious name of Persecution, which common People, who seldom consider, that the righteousness of the Cause, and not the sufferings of the Persecuted

The true notion of Persecution stated.

make Persecution, are apt to think is really such, as often as men suffer upon a pretended religious account. Therefore I will take an occasion from the abuse of the word by this Deceiver, to declare from the words of our Blessed Redeemer, That Persecution in the *active sense* is Inflicting, and in the *passive*, suffering of Evil for *Righteousness sake*. Whoſoever then is truly Persecuted, must be persecuted for matters of professed Faith, or Principles, or for matters of Practice. Upon the former account a man is Persecuted, when he is persecuted either for professing (under which I comprehend Preaching and Teaching) a true Doctrine, which he is bound to profess, as the Apostles were persecuted by the *Jews* for professing Jesus to be the Christ, or for remonstrating against a false Doctrine, which he is bound to remonstrate against, as the same Apostles were persecuted for opposing this Doctrine, that *Moses* his Law was to be observed under Christ. But whoſoever is persecuted for matters of practice, is persecuted either for matters of *Divine Worship*, which concern the first Table, or for *Matters of Morality*, which belong to the Second, for there is no *Righteousness*, or Righteous cause, which is not reducable to one of these Two. With respect to matters of Divine Worship, a man is persecuted either upon a *Negative account*, for not Worshipping a false god, like the Three Children in *Daniel*, or else for not Worshipping the true God in a false way; as *St. Paul*, and the other Apostles were persecuted by the *Sanhedrim*, for not Worshipping God according to the *Jewish* manner, after it was abrogated; and these are the two Sorts of Persecution, which most ordinarily occur in reading the Scriptures. Or 2<sup>ly</sup>. Upon a positive account for Worshipping the true God in a true way, or to express it in the Sectaries own terms, for *Serving of God*, as *Daniel* was cast into the Lions Den for Praying to God against the Kings Decree. With respect to matters of *Morality*, a man is also Persecuted two ways; First, Upon a *Negative account*, when he is Persecuted for not doing something, which is in its own nature, or by Gods positive Command Morally Evil: as the good Midwives were in danger of being Persecuted by *Pharaoh*, for not Murdering the *Hebrew-Infants*. Or 2<sup>ly</sup>. Upon a *positive account*, when he is Persecuted for doing some good

good Deed, which in such and such circumstances ought to be done; as our blessed Lord was Persecuted by the Pharisees for opening the Eyes of the Blind, and healing on the Sabbath-day.

These distinctions being premised, let us see, in which of these cases the Covenanters are Persecuted, or, which is all one, for what they are Martyrs: For no man is Persecuted; but as far as he is Persecuted he is a Martyr, and by his Suffeaings bears Witness to the righteous Cause, for which he Suffers.

First Then, they are not Persecuted, when they are Prosecuted for professing the Principles of their Party; because they are False, Impious, or both. For contrary to the Universal Church of God, they hold, that Episcopacy is an Unscriptural, and Antichristian Constitution; That it is a sin to take Episcopal Orders, or directly or indirectly to <sup>a</sup> own the Authority of the Bishops, and <sup>b</sup> unlawfull to hear them or their Clergy Preach. Nay, That it is lawfull to kill them, if they <sup>c</sup> inform Authority, or Preach, or Write against them; That the Use of the <sup>d</sup> Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments is Superstitious, and Idolatrous, That the Common-Prayer is an Idol; That the observation of <sup>e</sup> Holy-days, (the four Apostolical not excepted) private Baptisms, private Communi- ons, and Confirmation, are unlawful, Superstitious, and Popish; That the Presbyterian Government is of Divine Institution; That the <sup>f</sup> solemn League and Covenant cannot be rescinded by any power on Earth, but obligeth us and our Posterity for ever; and that it is lawfull to kill those that <sup>g</sup> Apostatize from it; That the Oath of Allegiance in Scotland, and the Oath of Supremacy in England, ought not to be taken; and That the <sup>h</sup> Act of Supremacy unkins Christ; That it is unlawful to appear at Bishops <sup>i</sup> Courts, or before the <sup>k</sup> High-Commission-Court; That the Supreme Magistrate cannot silence a Minister, nor indict a Fast, (which the good Kings of Judah, and Israel, and the King of Nineveh did) That the <sup>l</sup> People have a Right to defend themselves, and their Covenanted Religion; That <sup>m</sup> presentations to Livings in the Church, by Lay-Persons, and Collations by Bishops, is Popish and unlawful, not to mention all their other Principles, which are occasionally mentioned in these Animadversions. But if all these, and their other Doctrines, which they profess in opposition to the Church and State, be False or Impious, or both, as most assuredly they are, then they are not Persecuted, but justly punished, when they are Prosecuted upon this account. *Q. E. D.* This made my Lord Bacon truly say, That they are the men which propagate Religion by Wars, force Consciences, yet cry out, their Consciences are forced; that nurse Seditions, authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions, and put the Swords in the Peoples hand; that Sanctifie Tumults, Preach off the Heads of Kings, and overthrow Constitutions, and Government; that undermine Laws, and Settlement; that resist for Conscience-sake, and teach others so to die for their Salvation; that make Christ a raiser of Sedition, and his Religion a Firebrand; that despise Dominions, and speak evil of Dignities, and yet pretend to fear God. And therefore the Magistrate is so far from Persecuting the men of such professed Principles, that he is bound by that Trust which God hath reposed in him, to Prosecute them with severe Punishments, as being pernicious, not only to his Government, but the Souls of his Subjects, who by virtue of these damnable Doctrines, will be in a constant disposition to Rebellion in this World, and in danger of Damnation in the World to come. Neither are they Persecuted for remonstrating against false Doctrines; For the Doctrines against which they remonstrate, are but contradictions of their own Principles, which I have already proved to be false. It remains then, That if they are Persecuted, it is in being Prosecuted for *Matters of Practice*, either upon the account of *Divine Worship*, which belongs to the First Table; or for *Matters of Morality*, which belong to the Second. Upon this latter Score, they cry out of Persecution, first upon a positive account, when they are prosecuted for harbouring, hiding, and main-

a. b. See the Apologetical Narration, and the Apology.

c. For then they are Persecuting Prelates.

d. A great Apostle of the Covenant, Elder Brother to Dr. Owen, said, that the common Use of the Lords Prayer was a Papistical Charm. And a Minister of Galloway thanked God, that he had banished two Idols out of his Parish, Our Father, and I believe in God.

e. See Bishop Lindseys Narration of the Assembly at Derth.

f. The Apologetical Narration, and almost all their Books.

g. This was the true ground of their implacable hatred to the Marquess of Montrose, and the late Archbishop of St. Andrews.

h. The Apologetical Narration, see Note y on the first Speech.

i. k. The Apologet. Narrat. and Naph. page 126. saith, That their Oppressions, and grievances by reason of this Court alone, do far exceed the pressures, and injuries of the Spanish Inquisition; whereupon the United Provinces have justified their Revolt from the King of Spain.

l. Jus Populi Vindicatum. Apolog. Narr. Sect. 11.

m. Apolog. Narr. Sect. 9. The Apology. Mitchels larger Speech in Rav. Red. Though the Right of Patronage is for Elder than Popery, as is evident from that Law of Justinian Novel. 123. c. 13. Siquis oratorii domum fabricaverit, and the Council of Toled. 9. c. 2. decernimus ut quamdian fundatores Ecclesiarum.



† *I say Fallaciouſly: For as Cicero writes lib. 3. Offic. Patria Præſtat omnibus officiis, filius patriæ Salutem anteponeat Salutem patriæ. and lib. 1. Offic. omnium ſocietatum nulla eſt gravior, nulla carior, quàm ea, quæ cum repub. eſt unicuique noſtræ, Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, ſed omnes omnium Caritates patria una complexa eſt. Sed ſi contentio quedam eſt & comparatio fiat, quibus plurimum tribuenda ſit offici; principes ſunt Patriæ, & Parentes.*

taining declared and attainted Traitors, who act according to the foreſaid Principles, contrary to expreſs Law; † Fallaciouſly pretending, That common humanity and charity obligeth them to relieve, and aſſiſt ſuch miſerable Perſons, who, it may be, are their Fathers, or Sons, or Brothers, or Miniſters, to whom they are related in Chriſt; or for not obeying lawful Authority, when they are called in his Maſteſties name to aſſiſt in Seizing of them, or Searching for them, and for not repairing to the *Kings Hoſt*, (according to the moſt ancient Law of the Kingdom) when the Covenanters riſe up to deſtroy the Government of Church and State. But if it be a Sin to harbour a Traitor, be he who he will, or not to aſſiſt at his apprehenſion according to Law, and to reſuſe in a time of Rebellion to repair to the Kings Standard when legally called; If theſe things, I ſay, be Sins, as every thing muſt be which is contrary to the Allegiance of Subjects, the Laws of the Countrey, and the Duty which every Man owes to the Publick-Weal; then they are not Perſecuted, but juſtly puniſhed, when they are proſecuted on this account.

† See Note (a) on the firſt Speech, and the Apology Sect. 2. Where the Author compares this Act, to the Oath de ſuper inquirendis, uſed in the Inquiſition.

† Quod ſi tyrannidem occupare, ſi patriam prodere conabitur pater, ſi lebitur filius? imo vero obſecrabit patrem ne id faciat, ſi nihil proficiet accuſabit, minabitur etiam; ad extremum ſi ad perniciem patriæ res ſpectabit, patriæ ſalutem anteponeat ſaluti patriæ.

1. For there is no other way left to ſatisfy the Law.

2. For, not to appear, is Contempt, and Contumacy.

They alſo pretend to be Perſecuted under this Head, upon a Negative account, when they are Proſecuted for not † deponcing in the matter of Field-Meetings, according to the Act of Parliament, *Caroli 2. Seſſion. 2. Act. 2.* which obligeth them, (as they object) without exception of Perſons, the Father to inform againſt the Son, the Husband againſt his Wife, &c. againſt Juſtice, Mercy, and Equity, and for not rendring themſelves according to the Kings Proclamations, and laſtly, for not appearing, when they are cited before the Courts. But if it is the Duty of the neareſt † Relation; for example, of the Father to depone againſt the Son, when he is required by the Father of the Countrey, the King, (with reſpect to whom they are both Sons) or which is all one by the Law; and if it alſo be the Duty of every criminal Subject to render himſelf to Juſtice, uncalled; much more when he is commanded by his lawful Sovereign to do it, and to appear upon due citation before his competent Judge, then theſe men who are

real delinquents upon theſe Scores, are not Perſecuted, but juſtly puniſhed, when they are Fin'd, Imprifoned, Tranſported, Banished, or Outlaw'd, and denounced Rebels upon the aforeſaid accounts.

It remains then, That we require, whether they are Perſecuted for matters of Divine Worſhip, either upon a negative or poſitive account. Firſt Then, they pretend not to be Perſecuted for not Worſhipping a falſe God, becauſe the Church-Congregations worſhip the ſame God, and Saviour, which they themſelves do. But then they pretend, with mighty cragical Exaggerations, to be Perſecuted for not Worſhipping this true God in a falſe way; crying out, as often as they ſpeak of the breach of the Covenant, † Of Rebellion, Blaſphemy, and perſidy againſt God, of Contempt of him, of overturning the Work of the Goſpel, of promoting the Kingdom of darkneſs, and Antichriſt; nay, as if the Church had turned Idolatrous, of Apoſtatizing from God, of rejecting Chriſt, and overturning the Work of his Spirit, and Arm, &c. and when all comes to all, they are ſo far from being Perſecuted for not Worſhipping of God in any falſe, unſitting, or unſcriptural way, (their own Conſciences being Judge) that the way after which the Church-Congregations worſhip him, is the very ſame with their own, without Form in any Office, or Ceremony of any fort. But if the Church of Scotland Worſhip'd God by one preſcribed Form, and had appointed Ceremonies as her Siſter-Church, according to the example of the Primitive-Churches, hath done; yet, this would not prove their Sufferings upon the account of Separation to be Perſecution, unleſs they could prove, that Forms, and Ceremonies in the general are unlawful, which can never be proved; or that thoſe particular Forms, and Ceremonies which they were bound to obſerve, were unlawful; and then indeed their plea would be good. Nothing can be replied to this, but that, though the manner of Worſhip be the ſame in Churches, and Conventicles, yet the Miniſtery is not; but that the Church-Miniſtery by Biſhops, and Presbyters Epiſcopally Ordained is unlawful: which Aſſertion ſuppoſeth, that if it be lawful, then they are juſtly puniſhed,

† Naph. page 2.



nished, and not Persecuted for not going to Church; and either it must be granted to be lawful, or else the Ministry of the Universal Church was unlawful for above 1500. years.

There remains then nothing, but to assert, That they are punished upon a positive account, *for serving of God, or for Worshipping of him in a true Way.* That the way by which they publicly Worship God, is a true way; as to the substance of the Worship, were their Presbyterian, and Schismatical Ministry valid, I would not deny: but then because there are many true ways of publick Worship, Subjects, like the Children, and Servants of a Family, ought publickly to Worship God in that true way of Worship which the Supream Magistrate, the Father of the Nation, doth appoint. I will put this case to the *Covenanters*: There's none of them dare deny, but that the *French*, and *Helvetian* Churches Worship God in a true way, and that the reformed Church of *Scotland* likewise worshipped him in a true way, when Mr. *Knox*'s Liturgy, which is almost the same with that of the *French* Church, was in use. Now therefore, I desire they would tell me, That supposing the Presbyterian Government were legally Established in *Scotland*, together with that unprescribed Formless way of Worship, which they now use, Whether a Separating Party refusing to come to Church, because they would Worship God according to the *French* Liturgy, or that of Mr. *Knox*, would be guilty of Schism, or no? If they say yes, as by their own Principles, and in common reason they are bound to do; then I desire to know, Whether the Supream Power may not forbid their Separate Meetings, and command them to come to Church under certain Pains, and Penalties, and might not most justly inflict them, if they disobeyed? They cannot say no, by their own Principles, and Practices, as well as out of common reason; and if they say yes, then they acknowledge in another case, that they are justly punished, and not Persecuted for meeting to worship God in Conventicles, against the penal Laws.

But furthermore, It is not sufficient, that the substance of publick Worship be true, unless the Circumstances of it be also due. It would (for example) be a very punishable exorbitancy for any Party of conforming People in *England* to meet illegally in Fields, or Houses, or at Midnight in Churches, to Celebrate Divine Service by the Book of Common-Prayer, although they pretended for their Vindication, That it was against their Consciences to Pray or Communicate with Profane Persons, who come to the Churches, or to have their Christian liberty abridged by legal confinement to Time, and Place. This is the very case of the Field-Fanaticks, who though they worship God in the same way as the Church-Congregations do, as to the substance of the Worship; Yet, notwithstanding their pretence, that they dare not own the Church-Ministry, they are justly punished, and not Persecuted for their Irregularities, and Transgressions in the legal circumstances thereof.

But lastly, Though the way in which they meet to Worship God, were not only true, but as excellent as they imagine it to be; nay, were they the only true Christians in the World, and their Magistrates Idolaters, or Atheists, yet, they have no reason to say they are Persecuted, when they are punished on this account; because the Laws, which forbid them to meet in such a manner, allow every Family with a certain number of Strangers, to worship God in what manner they like best; and were they of the Principles, and Temper of the Primitive Christians, they would be so far from complaining of Persecution, that they would be thankful to God, and the Powers, for so much indulgence, and strive by their peaceable behaviour to procure more.

But then, If they be considered as a People of Treasonable, Seditious, and Schismatical Principles and Practices, that have long lived in a State of Rebellion, and twice actually Rebelled in the space of 13. years; The punishments which they complain of, will be so far from looking like Persecution, that they must be acknowledged by all, but themselves, the just Demerits of their Crimes. They complain indeed of Persecution, whereas they themselves have been, and are the greatest Persecutors in the World. It is notoriously known, with what violence they formerly Persecuted the Bishops, and all who durst adhere to them and the Church. They Tyrannically Usurped Authority to depose, and Excommunicate them all in 1638. because (as the Act bears) they had been Consecrated to the Episcopal Office, condemned by the Confession of Faith, and Acts of that Kirk, as having *no Warrant in the Word of God*; whereas

*Covenanters  
great Persecu-  
tors and Ty-  
rants.*

1. Called in *the Harmony, Scotians Confessio.* whereas there is not one syllable against it, either in the 1 larger, or 2 shorter Confession of Faith. They usurped authority over Mens Consciences, in a most Tyrannical Popish manner; not only by taking upon them to loose Mens Consciences from the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to the King, and of Canonical obedience to the Bishops,

2. Called in *the Harmony, Generalis confessio, and by the Covenanters, The National Covenant.*

(the last of which they declared to be unlawful in their Assembly, *Decemb. 5th. 1638.*) but they imposed the Covenant on all men, under the penalty of Banishment, Forfeiture of Estates, and Excommunication, taking away from all those who refused it, both Heaven and Earth, as far as they could, at one Blow. Nay, as much as they could, they forced the Conscience of the late King, of blessed Memory, not suffering him to Serve God in his own Family according to his own way, which was by the *Common-Prayer*. The general Assembly in *August 1640.* made an Act against *Expectants*, (or young Students in Divinity) who should refuse to subscribe the Covenant, by which they declared them incapable of Preaching, Reading in a Church, or Teaching School, or Residing in any Colledge, or University; and if they continued obstinate, to be Excommunicated; and yet they now complain of the King, Parliament, and Council, for obliging Expectants, and Scholars, at their Laurcation to take the Oath of Allegiance, which is their Duty to do. They were not only content to declare Episcopacy to be Popish, and Antichristian, but in an Act of Assembly 1638. they declared, That it was abjured in the *National Covenant 1581.* under these words, *The Popes wicked Hierarchy*, (a *Bull*, or contradiction in *Adjecto*) which as they cite it from the *Council of Trent*, includes the Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; so that if Bishops were abjured by them who took the *National Covenant* under the *Popes Hierarchy*, how came it to pass, that they did not abjure Priests and Deacons too? They made an *Act of Assembly*, *August 3d. 1648.* for Censuring of Ministers, who spoke not to the corruptions of the time, *i. e.* for not Preaching, and Praying against the Engagement for delivering the late King out of Prison; and in Prosecuting this Act, Mr. *William Colvill* was deposed, though he was a most learned and worthy man, for not reading the Causes of a Fast which they appointed; which puts me in mind of what *Queen Mary Stuart* was used to say, That she was as much afraid of a Fast of the Ministers, as of an Army of Souldiers. In another *Act of Assembly*, *July 20. 1649.* they Ordained, that all that had been accessory to the Engagement 1648. should be processed, and made solemnly to renounce it, as sinful and unlawful, and in their *Seasonable warning*, *July 27. 1649.* They call the Defeat of this noble and pious Design by *Cromwell*, a great mercy to the People of God, and say, it ought to be perpetually remembred, and that all men ought to bless God for it; and page 10. they say, That if the King, or any for him shall invade this Land, in order to his Establishment, it will be a necessary Duty to resist and oppose him; and page 11. so long as the King refuses to hearken to the desires of the Kirk and State, it is consonant to the Scripture, Reason, and the Laws of the Kingdom to refuse to admit him to the Exercise of his Government, till he give satisfaction in these things; and in their Letter to the King, page 30. they say, That his refusing to satisfy their desires, was nothing else but an Opposing of the Kingdom of the Son of God, and a Refusing to let him Reign over him and his Kingdoms; and That his Entertaining of *James Graham*, will bring on him and his Throne the guilt of all the Blood that be, and his Accomplishes had shed; and page 31. they exhort him to lament for the iniquities of his Fathers House, and especially for his opposition to Religion and the Cause of God, the permitting and practising of Antichristian Prelacy in the Royal Family it self, and the Shedding of so much Blood of the People of God.

In one of their Acts, they inhibit the Lords Supper to be Administred to any Person, but who should first subscribe the Covenant, which they also forced young Students, and fresh men in the Universities to take; and if any of them who were insnared in it in their youth, chance to be Clergy-men, especially Bishops; then the Covenanters have a just ground to conspire their Destruction, for being *Apostates* from the Cause. They (here I include their Predecessors) Persecuted *Queen Mary*, King *James*, threatening to Excommunicate him, and his whole Council, King *Charles* the First of blessed Memory, and his Majesty who now Reigns, (and whom God preserve from Falling into their hands again) knows by former and latter experiences, what a Persecuting spirit they are of. What cruelty did they use against all those who refused to sign the Covenant, or who broke it upon being convinced what a bond of iniquity it was? They were declared to be Rebels, and denounced Enemies both to God and Man; Their Persons were Seized, their Goods Confiscate; and in *Novemb. 1643.* when some

of the most Eminent Nobility refused to Seal it ; Commissions were given to Soldiers to bring them in Prisoners, and to kill them if they made Resistance. What bloody Tribunals were Erected at *St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh*? How many Noblemen, and Gentlemen of good Quality were most Barbarously Murdered (especially the Heroick *Montrosi*) for obeying their Sovereign's Commission? and how did the Covenanters rejoyce, when the Scaffolds were reeking with their Blood ; One of their Ministers Preached then, That *the work of Reformation went Bonnily on*. Another in his Prayer Blasphemously said, *Lord send us more Scaffold-Work*. A Fanatical Lady in the West, said, *That the Covenant could not be Advanced but by Blood*. And many Ministers were then Deposed for not Preaching for it, and for speaking Civilly to *Montrosi*, and Praying with him ; by name, Mr. Robert Tran of *Eglestholm*, and many others, as their own Registers yet do shew. And then for the Rump of the old Faction still remaining, how do They Persecute the Church, and her Clergy with their utmost Malice and Power? There was an Act of Parliament expressly made for Securing the Persons, Families, and Goods of Ministers, 1669. and another against Assaulting of Ministers, 1670. And the Author of *Naphtali* pag. 134. Exhorts all People, *To acquit themselves like Men, and pull the Bishops out of the Sanctuary, that the Wrath of God may be averted in the Righteous Punishment of those wicked Men*. Accordingly, Mr. James Mitchel attempted to Murder the late Archbishop of *St. Andrews*; and in his larger Speech in *Ravillac Red.* he saith, *They are all Blessed, that shall take the Proud Prelates, and dash their Brains against the Stones*. And what he attempted was at last Successfully Effected by † 10. Field-Zelots of the same Principles, whereof some had Ridden a long time in the Field-Preachers Guards. And in the middle of last October, Three Fanatick Ruffians knocked down one Mr. Malne a Church-Minister, in the Streets of *Glasgow*, when the Justice-Eyre was Sitting there. And I profess, when I consider in what a Persecuted Condition the Bishops and Clergy of our Sister-Church are, my heart bleeds for them; and methinks I hear them now crying out with one Voice to his Sacred Majesty, as the Disciples cry'd to our Saviour in the Storm, *Save us, or else we Perish*.

† Viz. by John Balfour of Kinlock, David Haxton of Rathillet, George Balfour in Gilston, James Russel in Kettle, Robert Dingwall in Caddam, Andrew Guilan in Balmernach, Alexander Henderson, and Andrew his Brother in Kilbrackmont, George Fleming in Balbuthy.

a poor handful ; The Lord knows, who is the searcher of hearts, that neither my Design nor Practice was against his Majesties Person and

Murder) but how well they deserved this Character, the World saw, and his Majesty Felt, as soon as they got into their great Evangelist *Naphtali* probable capacity ; and had they won the first Battel, we should have seen and felt more.

s. Or as some of their great Apologists, and Patrons were pleased to represent them at London, *A Poor, Innocent, Peaceable sort of People, who only desired to serve God according to their own Consciences ;* (and truly so they do when they rebell and

just Government, but I always studied to be Loyal to lawful Authority in the Lord ; I thank God my heart doth not condemn me of any Disloyalty ; I have been Loyal, and I recommend it to all to be Obedient

t. No, Not against his Majesties Person, but against his Evil Counsellors, as he would have spoken in the Covenanting Style, and not against his Just Government, but against his Supremacy, and his Legislations against the Covenant, which make his Government Unjust, and himself a Tyrant, an Idolater, and an Enemy to Christ ; and

then how the People ought to deal with him under that Notion and Character, will be worth the while to see. *Buchanan* in his *Dialogue de jure Regni* saith, *That it is as Lawful and Meritorious to kill Tyrants, as Wolves, and Bears, and their Whelps ; and that those who do such noble Acts, ought to be rewarded by all Men*. He saith also, *That the Pople are more Excellent, and Greater than the King, and have as much Power over him, as he hath over any one of them ; and that when he is called to be Judged by them, a less is cited by the greater ; and that if he will not come to be Judged, they may kill him like a Night-Thief any way, and That he ought to be compelled by Force*



of Arms. Napht. pag. 71. saith, in the words of Mr. Robert Duglass, who Preached at his Majesties Coronation in Scotland, That Breach of Covenant and Rebellion against God, was an old continued Sin in the Kings House, which God had always severely Punished. If therefore the King should not acknowledge Jesus Christ King of Sion, who is above him, but Break the Covenant; Gods Controversy against the Kings Family would be carried on to the Weakening, if not Overtbrowing of it. Sam. Rutherford the Author of *Lex Rex*, saith, That the King is no King, (then a Tyrant) but Covenanting-ways, and Conditionally; and that by the Covenant the People have a Civil Claim against him, and may Punish him in Courts set up by themselves, and may resume what Power he hath; for he is but their Subject, and Vassal; And page 178. calls Mariana his Elder Brother, (whom even Gavan the Jesuit in his dying Speech seemed to Condemn) an approved Author. Knox in his History of Reformation, pages 392, 393. saith, That Subjects may not only Lawfully Oppose themselves to their Kings, whensoever they do any thing which oppugnes Gods Command, but that they may also Execute Judgment upon them according to Gods Law. So that, if the King be a Murderer, Idolater, Adulterer, &c. he shall Suffer according to Gods Law, not as a King, but as an Offender; and *Lex Rex* saith, That the Sanhedrim ought, and should have put David to Death. And page. 77, and 78. Knox also saith, That it is not Birthright nor Propriety of Blood, that makes a King to reign lawfully over a People Professing Christ; and if Princes be Tyrants against God and his Truth, then Subjects are freed from their Oath of Obedience, and may rise up against him in Arms. And one Mr. Goodman one of Knoxes Companions, in his Book of Obedience, as *Philanax Anglicus* cites him, page 50. saith these words: It is a Duty incumbent on all People, severely to prosecute all Idolaters, none to be excepted, neither King, nor Queen, nor Emperor. This is Gods Commandment to the People, That in case of such a Defection, they Seize upon their Princes that would seduce them from God, and carry them away to the Gallows, and hang them up. Napht. in his Preface saith, That if the King, after the Example of Antichristian or Pagan Nations, will institute and appoint Needles, Vain, Superstitious, Burdensome Rites, no man needs denounce, but rather fear the Personal Doom Executed upon Saul and Uzza, for Usurping the Priests Office; And page 150. he saith, That through the manifest and notorious Perversion of the great Ends of Society and Government, the bond thereof being Dissolved, the Persons, one or more, thus liberated from it, do relapse into their Primeve Liberty, and Privilege; and accordingly, as the Similitude of their Case, and Exigence of their Cause do require, may upon the very same Principles again joyn, and associate for their better Defence and Preservation, as they did at first enter into Societies. Mr. Robert Blair when he was Regent in the Colledge of Glasgow, taught his Scholars, That Monarchy was an unlawful Government; for which he was Preferred at St. Andrews; Mr. Calderwood in his *Altare Damascenum*, did not only say in general, That in all Kings, naturally, there was an hatred to Christ; but in particular called King James, A most insense Enemy to the Purity of Religion; and yet Mr. Bailly in his Answer to *Issachars Burden*, page 65. says, That this man was of greater Worth than all the Prelates that Scotland ever bred, put them altogether. Conformable to these Principles, a Caball of the first Covenanting Lords wrote a Treasonable Letter to the French King; some say, To crave his Aid against their own Natural Sovereign Charles the First. The Letter was Subscribed by Rothes, Montrosi, Lesly, Marre, Montgomery, Loudonne, and Forrester; but by Gods good Providence, and the Abhorrence which another Lord shew'd to Subscribe it, it was laid aside, and never so much as Addressed, *Au Roy tres Christien*, although, as I have heard, The Earl of Trequaire, who shewed the King the Original, folded it up, and wrote upon it *Au Roy*. I have heard, That Montrosi was the Penner of it, which I therefore observe, to shew how dangerous these Kirk-Jesuits are in the State, since they Perverted not only the Common People, but so many of the great Nobility, and those who were men of the greatest Parts. See Sir Richard Bakers Chron. page 507. and in page 536. he saith, That the Irish Rebels to justifie their Rebellion, alledged, That they Rebelled against the Tyrannical Government that was over them, after the Example of Scotland, which had got great Privileges by that Course. As if they had declared in the words of this Traitor, That they had no Design against his Majesties Person and Just Government, but had always Studied to be Loyal in the Lord.



to higher Powers in the Lord. And that I Preached at Field-Meetings, which is the other ground of my Sentence; I am so far from acknowledging that the Gospel Preached that way, is a Rendezvouzing in Rebellion, as it is so termed; that I bless the Lord that ever counted me worthy to be Witness of such Meetings, which have been wonderfully Countenanced and owned, not only

u. He means according to the Covenant, and as far as the King should favour the Presbyterian Government, and submit his Scepter to the Scepter of Christ. Otherwise to Obey him would be a Sin, for then he would go out of his Line and Order, so as to Command contrary to God; and then the Subjects not Obeying him, is not Disobedience to the Magistrate, but Obedience to God, who in this case becomes their immediate Superior; and if the People do not thus Resist the Magistrate, they Sin against God, and their own Souls. These are the words in the Second Reason of the Cove-

nanters Instructions for Defensive Arms, Printed 1638. So Napht. pag. 157. saith, That Disobeying the Powers, when they act in the right Line of Subordination, is indeed Rebellion, and as the Sin of Witchcraft; but to Resist and Rise up against Persons abusing Sacred Authority, and Rebelling against God the Supream, is to Adhere to God as our Liege-Lord, and to Vindicate our Selves, and his Abused Ordinance, from Wickedness and Tyranny; and page 151. Explaining these words of the Covenant, In our several Places, and Callings; he saith, That every man in his Station is thereby bound to promote the Covenant, [not by all lawful, but] by all possible means; and if any in higher Place would Seduce their Inferiours into Apostacy, then it is their Duty to Resist such Wickedness and Violence, and their Calling, to endeavour either the Reformation or Removal of those, who prove so Contrary and Destructive to the Ends unto which they were Ordained. How contrary is this Jesuitical Doctrine of the Covenanters, to the Profession and Practice of Primitive Christians, and the Confession of Protestant Churches, and especially of the Church of England? which Teaches, That Subjects are absolutely bound to Obey their Sovereign, by actual Obedience, when his Commandments are not Sinful, and when they are so, by Passive Obedience; after the Example of the Primitive Christians, who patiently and meekly Suffered all sorts of Punishments, and Torments, when they were in a most probable Capacity, if they had Rebelled. In Tertullians time, the Infidels complained, That the Christians were so numerous, † *Obsecram vociferantur civitatem, in agris, in Castellis, in insulis Christianos: omnium Sexum, etatem, Conditionem, & jam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen marent*; and in his Second Apology, he appeals to the Heathens, If they were not numerous enough to make greater Armies than any were then in the World? telling them, That the Christians had left them nothing but their Temples. *Si enim & hostes exertos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum & copia-rum.*—*besterni sumus & vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, Castella, municipia conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum; sola vobis reliquimus templa cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissimus*—and in the very next words declares, That the Christian Religion taught them not to Kill, but to be Killed. *Qui tam libenter trucidamur, si non apud istam Disciplinam occidi magis liceret, quam occidere.* But the Covenanters on the contrary, assert, (see *Lex Rex*, from page 313. to 322.) That no man is bound in Conscience to passive Subjection under unjust Punishments inflicted by the Magistrate, more than to active Obedience to unlawful Commands; passive Obedience in that case coming under no Command of God. Nay, That it is a Sin against God to submit to an unjust Sentence, and an Act of Grace and Virtue for a Man to Resist the Magistrate Violently, when he doth him Wrong; and Self-Murder, not to Resist when he offers to take our Lives without Cause, though not without Law. Nay, He Blasphemously mocks at the very notion of Passive Obedience, as a Chimera and a Dream, forgetting who was brought like a Lamb to the Slaughter, and like a Sheep that is Dumb before his Shearers, opened not his mouth. And Mr. George Gillespy in the Preface to his Printed Sermon before the House of Commons, on Ezek. 43. 11. he calls *Preces & lacrymæ sunt arma Ecclesiæ*, the new Oxford-Divinity, to the immortal Honour of that University, which so malled the Covenant; and where this Primitive Christian Divinity, (which he most ignorantly miscalled new) will, I hope, be taught to the end of the World. I take the more notice of this, because many of the late Seditious Pamphlets have Lampooned the Doctrine of

† i. Apolog.  
& Cyprian ad  
Demetr. unde  
est quod nemo  
nostrum, quan-  
do apprehendi-  
tur, reluctatur,  
nec se ad-  
versus injus-  
tam violentiam  
vestram  
quamvis nomi-  
as & copiosus  
nosser sit popu-  
lus, ulciscitur.

Passive Obe-  
dience asserted.

Passive

† Page 66.  
67, 68.

*Amez. Paren-  
tem si aquus  
est, si iniquus,  
feras.*

† Now St. Mau-  
rice in Savoy.

Passive Obedience, especially those which have been written against the Succession of his Royal Highness; and the † Author of *The History of the late Civil Wars*, in his Censure of the *Whole Duty of Man*. I shall for the Confutation of them all, set down some Texts of Scripture, and the Sense of ancient Christians on this Subject; and then leave my Reader to judge, whether it be not Blasphemy to scoff at the notion of Passive Obedience, and Nonsense to say, That Rebellion may be justified thereby.

1 Pet. 2. 18, 19, 20. *Servants be Subject to your Masters, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward; for this is thankworthy, if a man for Conscience towards God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully; for what glory is it if when you are buffeted for your faults you take it patiently; but if when you do well, and suffer for it, you take it patiently, this is acceptable with God, for even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also Suffered for us, leaving as an Example, That we should follow his Steps.* And 1 Pet. 4. 13, 14, 15. *But rejoice in as much as you are Partakers of Christs Sufferings—for if you are reproached for the name of Christ, happy are you; but let none of you Suffer as a Murderer, or a Thief, or an Evil-doer—yet if any man Suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but glorify God on this behalf.* Rev. 13. 10. *He that killeth with the Sword shall be killed with the Sword; here is the Patience and Faith of the Saints.* Hebr. 11. 35, 36, 37. *They were Tortured—Scourged—Stoned, Sawed assunder, &c.* which St. August, *de civit. dei*, l. 22. Explains in these words, *Neque tunc civitas Christi, quamvis tunc peregrinaretur in terris, & haberet tam magnorum agmina populorum adversus impios persecutores, pro temporali salute pugnavit; sed potius ut obtineret eternam non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, cadebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniebantur, cruciabantur, & multiplicabantur, non erat ijs pro salute pugnare, nisi salutem pro salute contemneretur.* So Lactantius, lib. 5. — *& ideo cum tam nefanda perpetuimur, ne verbo quidem reluctamur, sed deo remittimus ultionem.* But the Theban Legion which consisted of 6666. Soldiers, all Christians, is beyond all other Example. They lay with the rest of the Army at *Ostodurum*, when *Maximianus* the Emperor Commanded, That Sacrifice should be offered unto the Gods. This Command being given, the Christian Legion marched away to a Village called † *Aganum*, whither the Emperor sent, to Command them to come, and Sacrifice with the rest, but they refused, whereupon the Emperor Commanded, That every Tenth Man through the whole Legion should be Slain; which was Executed, without the least Shew of Resistance against them who were appointed to put them to Death. And *Mauritius* a *Primicerius* of the Legion, bespoke the Soldiers at the time of Execution, Thus: *I was very much afraid, Fellow-Soldiers, lest any of you, as it is very natural, especially for Armed men to do, should have Resisted under the specious pretext of Self-Defence. And I was prepared to forbid you to do so, in the Name and by the Example of Christ, who Commanded Peter, when he drew his Sword, to put it up again; thereby Teaching, &c.*— The first Decimation being Executed, the Emperor Commanded the rest to Sacrifice, who Answered him thus: *We are thy Soldiers, Cæsar, and have taken up Arms to Defend the Empire, and never yet were Punished either as Desertors, Traitors, or Cowards, and we would now Obey thee in this particular, but that being Christians we are obliged by our Religion not to Worship Demons, nor approach their Altars, which are polluted with Blood. Thou hast Commanded us to Sacrifice, or every Tenth Man of us shall be put to Death. Know assuredly that we are all Christians, who, as to our Bodies, are thy Subjects, but not as to our Souls, which now look up to the Founder of our Religion, Christ.* Afterwards *Exuperius* the Standard-Bearer spake unto them thus: *You see, Fellow-Soldiers, I bear the Eagle, the Sign of Secular War; but it is not to these Arms, that I desire to provoke you, nor in War of this nature That I would have you shew your Valour; but in another way of Combating, by which, and not by your Swords you shall win the Kingdom of Heaven.* He left also this Message to be sent to the Emperor: That Desperation, which made all other men Valiant in Dangers, could not prevail with them to use their Arms against his Majesty, who had refused to Resist with their Swords in their hands, because they had rather Die, than get an unlawful Victory; and perish in Innocency, than Survive in Sin. All which shews, First, That Passive Obedience is no Chimæra, but a real Notion; Secondly, That it is the indispensable Duty of all Christians when they are Persecuted by Authority; and Thirdly, That it is so far from justifying Rebellion, as the Author of *Behem* foolishly Asserts, That it is the only Doctrine which can keep Subjects who are really Persecuted and Oppressed, or phantasie themselves to be so, from Rebelling against their Sovereign; and therefore the Popish,

and

and Presbyterian Jesuits, who love to have it in their Power to trouble the Government of Christian Monarchs, declare it to be as great a Sin, as active Obedience to their unlawful Commands. And now, when all Sects, whereof some are not Chistians, with great confidence call themselves *Protestants*, upon the account of their Opposition, whether real or pretended, to Popery; I freely declare, That none of them are, or ought to be esteemed so in a strict, and Orthodox sence, but such as Profess the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, as strictly as it was both Professed and Practised in the Primitive Catholick Church. Nay, furthermore, seeing there are some common Maxims of Christian Divinity, which were always professed by the Church Universal for undoubted Truths, although they are not set down expressly, neither in the Scriptures, nor in the Apostles Creed, and the truth of which were never questioned but by some few Hereticks, who had no proportion to the rest; I also assert, That no Man nor Society of Men, how Antipapistical soever they may be, ought to be looked upon as Orthodox Protestants, unless they profess these common Notions of Christianity, without the Belief and Profession of which, none could be counted Orthodox Christians in the Primitive Catholick Church. These common Principles, wherein all Christian Churches agreed, are these: *That the Scriptures are the Word of God; That there are Three distinct Persons in the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that these Three are one God; That Christ is both God and Man in the same Person; That the Lords-Day, or First Day of every Week ought to be kept Holy; That a Solemn Yearly Commemoration of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord, and of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, ought to be Observed; and that the Church Universal is to be Governed by Bishops above, and distinct from Presbyters.* There never was any Church from the Apostles, and downwards for above Fourteen hundred Years, which did not consent to the Truth of These, and some other Doctrines, and look upon them as the common Notions of the Christian Religion, delivered down from its first Original, with the Articles of Christian Faith. And therefore, as no *Arrian, Photinian, Sabbatarian, or Arian*, how Opposite soever they were to the *Jews* and Heathens, the common Enemies of Christianity, were admitted for truly Catholick or Orthodox Christians, in the Primitive times; but were Condemned, and Anathematized for Hereticks; so now, no Society of *Antiscripturists, Antitrinitarians, Socinians, Antidominicans*, (for I will not call them *Antisabbatarians*) *Antipædobaptists, Antiepiscoparians* of what Denomination soever; and likewise no Society of men professing the Observation of the *Apostolical Holy-days* to be Superstitious and Idolatrous, how opposite soever they pretend to be to the common Enemy of the Reformed Churches, ought not to be considered as Orthodox Protestants, who by that name are understood to *Protest* against the Errors; Innovations, Corruptions, and Usurpations of the *Romish*, but not against the Common Doctrines of the *Primitive Catholick Church*.

No Orthodox Protestants will deny the Doctrine of Passive Obedience.

† That Infants are to be Baptized.

The true notion of Protestantism.

to the \* *Conviction*, but even to the Conversion of many Thousands; yea, I do y assert, that if the Lord hath any purer Church and People in this Land, it has been in and among these Meetings in Fields and

x. The Delusion of many Thousands, as their numerous Field-Meetings do shew.

y. I observed before, That the Covenant-Preachers are apt to speak mighty things of their Party. So *Naphtali*, speaking of the Covenanted-Army, which rebelled at *Pentland-Hills* 1666. saith, *That there hath*

not been in Britain such another Company of men joyned in Arms for the Covenant, and Cause of God, for sound Judgment, true Piety, Integrity of Heart, Fervent Zeal, undaunted Courage, &c. Whereas they were for the most part Crack-Brained men, of broken Fortunes, and such as had been processed for Fornications, and Adulteries; as all those who went to Christs Standard, out of the Parishes of *Kilmarnock* and *Plimms*, were known to be, being in all Twenty Persons. And if any man will take the pains to enquire into their Morals, they will find this Sect to be one of the wickedest People, not only for Treason, Schism, and Rebellion, but for Sensual Sins, and Abominations, that ever professed the name of Christ. They use all manner of Care and Secrecy to Conceal their Wickedness; but yet, so many undeniable Stories of their Privy Pranks are come to Light, as make them the Scandal of the Christian name. *Lysimach. Nicanor* First Edition page 79. Tells us of one *Andrew Lelly*, who forsook *Ireland* to come and take the Covenant, after which he immediately left his own Wife,



to live with a Whore, the Daughter of an holy Sister at *Edinburgh*; who Blasphemously said, That her Child was fallen into an holy Fornication with a Brother, not out of Lust, but Love, and therefore resolved, That she should not Confess it, lest the Gospel should be Scandalized; and that it was better to fall into the hands of God by False-Swearing, than to fall into the hands of men by Confessing the Fact; which appeared after she had Sworn, by her great Belly and Lying In. Chancellor Loudon, the great Pillar and Promoter of the Covenant, was known to all the Nation for a notorious Whoremonger and Adulterer, both at home and abroad, especially with Major *Johnstons* Wife, who bare him several Children; and yet he was called a Saint among them. The Story of their Principal Saint, Major *Thomas Weir*, so Infamous for Fornication, Adultery, Incest, and Bestiality, for which he was Condemned, was lately Published in *Ravillac Redivivum*, to which I refer the Reader. Mr. *James Symson* Minister at *Airthie*, a little before his Majesties Restauration, took a Womans Oath before the Congregation, who had brought forth a Bastard, in these words: *That she never knew a man, more than she knew him*; which made the People suspect it to be his own, for almost every day she brought cases of Conscience to him in his Chamber, which made his Wife Jealous after she heard the words of the Oath. One *James Foyer* a Beggar, who passed for so great a Saint among them, that he was Registered for a known Seeker of God in the Presbytery Book of *Glasgow*, was afterwards found guilty of above an hundred Adulteries, Incests, innumerable Fornications, and Witch-Craft; for which he should have been Hanged, had not the *Glasgow*-Fanaticks made a Contribution, and bribed the *English*-Judges to save his Life, so that he was only Scourged through the Town. Afterwards he Dyed miserably by a Ditch; when he Tempted Women to Uncleaness, he said he would give them an holy Kiss, and if he knew them not to be in the State of Grace, he would not meddle with them. Since his Majesties Restauration, Seven or Eight great Fanaticks have been Burnt for Bestiality, who always went to Conventicles, and refused to hear the Church-Ministers Preach; and in the Parish of *Govean*, in Two Years time, Eight Persons were found guilty of Incest, all Fanaticks, who acted their Abominations as they went to, and came from Conventicles, as they confessed before the Presbytery of *Glasgow*. Mr. *Hugh Archibald* Minister at *Evandale* a Zealous Fanatick, was guilty of many Adulteries. And Mr. *James Porter*, a Famous Conventicler, Son of Mr. *James Porter* Synod-Clerk of *Glasgow*, got a Child in Adultery, with *Margaret Gilchriston* in *Gorbells*, and thought to have Murdered it at his Birth, but that he was hindred by some Women living in the lower Story, who heard it cry. It was Baptized by Mr. *Alex. Janison*, and Mr. *Porter* himself fled into *Ireland*. Mr. *William Houston* at *Elskine*, one of their Ministers, kept a Servant Maiden, with whom he lay nightly till she brought forth a Child, and then they both fled to *Ireland*. Mr. *Sam. Rutherford* their great Apostle, Mr. *John Karstaires*, Mr. *Matthew Rumsey*, and Mr. *John King*, the Author of this Speech, got their Wives with Child before Marriage; and for this last, many doubt if he and his pretended Wife were ever Married at all. Mr. *Peter Paterson*, a certain Fanatical Lords Chaplain and Chamberlain, begot many Children in Adultery; and though it was their Custom to do all they could to Conceal the Infirmities and Failings of their Ministers and eminent Professors, to avoid Scandal, yet great is the number of such who were processed for Adultery, as their own Presbytery-Registers yet do shew.

One *John Bridgeford* in *Michel Govean*, a great Conventicler, and Married man in the Year 1664. used to wait upon his Neighbours Wife to Conventicles, and Lye with her in the Return; and Tempted her to it by the Example of *David*, and told her it was the way to humble her, and make her a good Christian, as both he and she judiciously confessed before the Presbytery. Afterwards he went to *Edinburgh*, where he begot another Child in Adultery, and Murdered it and his own Wife, for which he was Hanged there. *Charles Pettierue* a Married man in *Glasgow*, lay with a Woman in *James Galts* House in the Day, and was caught in the Act; yet he was one of those Covenanting Zealots, who held it unlawful to come to Church. The Wife of *James Wallace* of *Badrean* a great Conventicler, was taken by her Husband in the Act of Adultery with his Man Servant. He brought them both tied together in their Shifts to *Pascly-Cross*; She had the Bible in her hand when she committed Adultery, and Tempted her man, who first refused her, to the Sin, by Blasphemously telling of him, *There was no Condemnation to them who were in Christ*. *Balfour* a Butcher in *Kippin* Parish, pretended, with his Wife, to be Converted by Mr. *John Law*, a Conventicle-Preacher. Soon af-



ter their Conversion, she ran away with his man, and took all his means with her; but he followed, and overtook them at *Dumfries*, recovered some of his Money and Goods, and Sold them both to *Virginia*. I could instance in more, whom I forbear to mention out of respect to their Families, and Relations. And since his Majesties Restauration there have been above an hundred Adulteries, and many more Fornications committed by Conventiclers, within the single Presbytery of *Glasgow*, whose names shall be produced out of the Registers, if they be denied. *Ravillae Redivivus* page 43. saith, That there are more Fornications and Adulteries committed in the *West*, where these Fanaticks so much abound, than in all the Nations besides; and particularly, That Seventeen of them of one Parish, within the Presbytery of *Pascly*, did publick Penance at one time. Mr. *Hamilton* who hath long been Captain of *Mr. Welshes* Guards, and whom they made Lieutenant-General to Jesus Christ in the last Insurrection, (for they Blasphemously said, That Christ was their General) is notoriously known for a Debauchee, who spent the Estate which his Father left him, on Whores. About a Year since, one Mr. *Williamson* a Conventicle Preacher, being searched for betimes one Morning at the *Lady Carrs* House of *Cheritry*, came upon the first Allarm to her Bedside, and told her he could be no where safe, but in her Ladieships own Bed; whereupon she very charitably let him come to Bed to Her and her Daughter; but the noise increasing, she went out to treat the Soldiers, and by that means to divert them from a strict Search. After the Soldiers were gone, she bethought her self of whom she had left in Bed with her Daughter, and presently ran into her Chamber, where finding the good man still in Bed with her Daughter, she called him names, and then fell furiously upon the young Lady; but she fell a crying, and told her it was then too late to Chide, which having found to be true, they were married together before he went from her House. The Tragical Story of the Lord *Forrester* is now the Talk of the whole Kingdom. He was the first man who took the advantage of his Majesties late Proclamation of Indulgence, to set up an *House-Conventicle* without the Precincts of *Edinburgh*, Two Miles out of the Town. Thither his Lordship went with his Concubine, who was his late Wives Niece, the first Sunday, and ordered Solemn Thanks to be given for the great Blessing of Indulgence; but soon after, some day of that or the very next Week she killed him, when he was Drunk, with his own Sword, with which he had often threatened to kill her Aunt, his late Lady, who was a great lover of the *English* Church. She was since Arraigned and Condemned for the horrid Murder, and told the Court she was Married to his Lordship, who for that purpose (she said) promised her to get a Dispensation from the Pope. *Ravil. Rediv.* also saith, That almost all, who are Executed for Witchcraft, come from this holy People, as they call themselves. Most certain it is, That the Five Witches, which bewitched Sir *George Maxwell* of *Nether-Pollock* to Death, and the Four which bewitched *Robert Hamilton* of *Barnes*, were all Presbyterians, who dyed owning that Party, and disowning, and bearing Testimony against the Bishops and Curates, and against the *Bells*, the *Lords Prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments*, calling them *Popish Trash* at the Stake, when they were ready to be Burnt. They were discovered by one *James Duglass*, who pretends to have the *Second Sight*; but is believed to have a Familiar Spirit. And it is Observable, That both Sir *George*, and the *Laird of Barnes*, both Zealous Covenanters, consulted with her for the recovery of their health. In the beginning of *November* last, a Discovery was made of a great number of Witches in *Burrowsburgh*, a Port on the *Forth*, where the Fanaticks think themselves most Safe, and where they usually lend the Arms which they buy in Foreign Countreys for the Service of the Cause. Five of them, all Conventiclers, have freely confessed; and the chief of them one—*Vicar* was a most Zealous, and Celebrate Professor, and the greatest Convener of the People to Conventicles, that was in all the Country.

I could say a great deal more of their other ungodly Practices, but I protest I am weary with Raking in this Dughill, and had not said thus much, but for the same reason as some of the Primitive Fathers set forth the Practices of the filthy *Gnosticks*, to let the World see what a wicked Sect they are. And therefore I dare assert with as much confidence, and more reason than this Rebel and his Brother *Kid* asserted the contrary, That if ever there were a Sect of Christians, That were not the People of God, and in whom his Soul took no Pleasure, then these Rebellious Covenanters are such.

z *Houfes*, so much now despised by some, and Persecuted by others. That I Preached up Rebellion, and Rising in Arms against Authority, I bleis the Lord my Conscience doth not condemn me in this, it being never my Design, if I could have Preached Christ, and Salvation through his name; That was my Work, and herein have I walked, according to the Light and Rule of the Word of God, and as it did become (though one of the meanest)

upon the ground. Thus likewise about *January* last, they served the *Town-Major* of *Edinburgh*, as the *Papists* served *Sir Edmondbury Godfrey* in *London*; For, having filled an House in *Edinburgh* with Armed men, they sent a Messenger to the Major, to Advertise him of a Conventicle there; who according to his Duty, having taken about Three or Four Assistants with him, went to the House to seize them according to Law. As soon as he knocked at the Door, he was let in, and was conducted to a Room, where he saw no body, till he was surprized with Armed men, who rushed in upon them at two Doors and Shot at them, and then fell upon them with Swords and Durkes, one of the Assistants was Shot dead through the Back, they Slashed and Stabbed the Major in several places, and dragged him out of doors, where they left him for dead.

a *Minister* of the Gospel; I have been looked on by some, and mis-

z. I am glad of this occasion to tell the Reader, That they used to meet Armed in the *Houfes*, as well as in the *Fields*; Nay, it hath been a common Stratagem among them, to fill *Houfes* with Armed men, and then to give it out, That there were Conventicles kept in them, That so they might have an opportunity to Murder the Officers, Civil or Military, that were sent to seize them. Thus *Mr. George Balfour* (since one of the Murderers of the *Archbishop* of *St. Andrews*) having got together a company of Armed Ruthans in an House near *St. Andrews*, served *Captain Karstairs*, and *Mr. Garret*, the latter of which after many Shots and Strabs, they left for dead

1. Not a Minister, but an Usurper of the Ministry: First, As Ordained by *Presbyters*, whom all † Antiquity never believed to have more power to Ordain a *Presbyter*,

† See *Can. 19.*  
*Council Sard.*  
*Can. 4. Conc.*  
*Constantino-*  
*pol. 1.*

† *Augustine*  
*de Civitate*

than for Deacons to Ordain a Deacon, or *Presbyter*, or for a College of Laymen to Ordain both. This is a certain truth, and if any ingenuous man desire to be satisfied in this point, which implies the necessity of Episcopal Orders; let him read a Book Intituled, *A brief Account of ancient Church-Government*, &c. It is a full Answer to *Blundell*, and all the *Presbyterian* Writers, and was Printed in 4<sup>o</sup> for *John Crook*, at the Ship in *St. Pauls Church-Yard* 1662. Secondly, as being Ordained by Schismatical *Presbyters*; whose Ordinations, had they had the same power to Ordain as Bishops have, would by the Sacred Canons have been † invalid upon the account of Schism and Sedition; and the *Presbyters* Ordained by them in such a Factious and Undutiful manner, would have been deposed by the Laws of the *Catholick Church*. And if the *Rebellious Presbyters*, the Fathers and Grandfathers of these now living, who undertook to Ordain, were not guilty of Schism in the highest manner, then the notion of Schism is a *Chimera*, and there was never such a thing in the *Catholick Church*. For they Assembled together without their Bishops, cited them to compear before them, and declared their Office to be *Antichristian*, and their Jurisdiction an Usurpation over the Church. Lastly, They abjured them, and brought the People to do the same in the Solemn League and Covenant, and Invaded their Office and Jurisdiction; and their Successors, these Ministers, falsely so called, still persevere to do the same. Thou art not then a Minister, Thou blind Guide! but (as a great Minister of State, and the Bulwark of the two Churches told his Majesty, when he was petitioned for thy life) an *Usurper of the Ministry*, a Rebel, a Traitor, a Deceiver of the People, who must answer for the blood of a Thousand poor Wretches, who perished in the Rebellion at *Boswell-Bridge*.

represented by 2 others, that I have been of a Divisive and Factious humor, and one that stirred up Division in the Church; but I am hopeful that ye will all give me now your Charity, being within a little space to stand before my Judge; (and I pray the Lord, That he may forgive them that did so misrepresent me) but I thank the Lord, whatever men have said of me concerning this, that on the contrary, I have been often dissuading from such Ways and Practices, and of this my Conscience bears me Witness; but here I would not have you mistake me, as if I did approve of Ways and Practices contrary to the Word of God, and that of our Covenanted and Reformed Religion; and as I ever abhorred Division and Faction in the Church, as that which tends to its utter ruine, (if the Lord prevent it not) so I would in the Bowels of my Lord and Master, if such a feeble one as I may presume to exhort and perswade both Ministers and Professors, if there be any Fellowship of the Spirit, any Consolation in Christ, if any comfort in Love, if any Bowels of Mercy; that ye be like-minded, having the same Love, being of one accord, of one mind, in lowliness of mind let each esteem others better than himself, Phil. 2. 1. 3. Harmoniousness and Oneness in the things of God, can never enough be sought after, and Harmony and Unitedness in things that tend to the 3 Prejudice of Christs Interest, can never enough be avoided, and fled from. And as I am willing to lay down my Tabernacle, so also I Dye in the 4 Faith of the Holy Scriptures, and in the 5 Faith of the Apostles, and 6 Primitive Christians, and 7 Protestant Reformed Churches, and particularly of the 8 Church of Scotland, whereof I am a poor Member, that has been so wonderfully Carried on against so much Oppo-

2. Called the Indulged Ministers. See Note (u) on the first Speech, and Section the fifth of the *Apology*.

3. He means the Presbyterian Government, which, according to them, is Christs Interest, Dignity, Crown, Kingdom, Scepter, Government, and Royal Prerogative, by which he Reigns as King in *Sion*.

4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Not in the Faith of the holy Scriptures; which command every Soul to be Subject to the higher Powers, and which neither teach directly, nor indirectly, That the Episcopal Government is an Antichristian, or the Presbyterian by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, a Divine Institution; or that the Magistrate hath no privative Power over Ecclesiastical Persons, or in causes Ecclesiastical; or that Passive Obedience to an unjust Sentence, is as great a Sin, as Active Obedience to an unrighteous Command, &c.

Nor in the Faith, or Profession of the Apostles; who both Taught and Practised the contradictions to the fore-mentioned Doctrines, and whereof some (for † there were more Apostles than Barnabas, and Paul, and the Twenty two especially so called) were Bishops, fixed to particular Diocesses; as St. a John at Ephesus, St. b Mark at Alexandria, c Titus in Crete, James called the d Lords Brother, Son of Cleopas at e Jerusalem, not to mention f Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus, and the Angels of the Seven Churches in the Revelations, whom universal Tradition hath delivered for Bishops of the Seven Asiatick Churches.

Nor in the Faith of the Primitive Christians, who looked upon the Bishops, as the Successors of the Apostles, who derived upon them the same Ecclesiastical Authority, which they received from Christ. Every one that is but tolerably versed in the Writings of the Primitive Christians, must needs con-

† See Rom. 16. 7. Eph. 4.

11. Gal. 1. 19. Rev. 2. 2.

2 Cor. 8. 23. Phil. 2. 25.

a. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 23.

b. Hierom. de Script. Eccles. & in Tit. c. 1.

c. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 4.

d. Compare Matth. 13. 55. 27. 56. Marc. 15. 47. with John 19. 25.

e. See the Authors quoted in Spalat. l. 2. c. 2. 16. Hegesip. apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 23. Hierom de Script. Eccles. Gal. 2. 18, 19. Acts 12. 17. Gal. 2. 12. Acts 21. 18. Acts 15. All which places shew, That James was resident in Jerusalem, and had some singular Ecclesiastical Authority, and Presidency there.

f. Euseb l. 3. c. 4. Hierom de Script. Eccles.



The Office of  
a Bishop proved  
to be distinct  
from that of a  
Priest; and of  
Divine Insti-  
tution.

† See their  
two Answers at  
the Isle of  
Wight, and  
the Appendix  
to the Jus Di-  
vinum Ministr.  
Anglican Prop.  
3. pag. 108.

self, that this was the belief of the Primitive Catholick Church; but to confute the shameful assertion of this ignorant *Pseudo-Minister*: let us descend to particular Primitive Writers, and see what They say upon this Subject. *Ignatius* in his Epistles, insists wholly upon the avoiding of Heresie, and Schism; and the Avoiding of Schism is every where inculcated by him to consist in this, That without the Bishop nothing be done, and all with the advice of the Presbyters. Heretofore some Paraphrastical Copies of this Fathers Epistles, have gone abroad in the World, in which could not be found the many places which the Fathers quoted out of them, at least in the same words; but since the Edition of the *Medicean Greek Copy*, by *J. Vossius*, and the two old *Latin Copies* by Bishop *Usher*, which differ from the former Copies, and agree with one another, and wherein are found all the places quoted out of them by the Fathers, and in the same Expressions wherein they are quoted; no tolerable reason hath been given, why they should not pass for pure and genuine, neither by *Blundell*, nor *Salmasius*, (who probably had written their Books against Episcopacy, before they had seen these latter Copies) nor our own † men, who still cry down these Epistles, without mentioning these latter Copies, or distinguishing between them and the former. This Father who was Bishop of *Antioch*, Anno Dom. 69. and contemporary with *St. John* in his Epist. ad *Magnesi* saith thus: *Vos deet non concuti aetate Episcopi, sed Secundum virtutem dei patris omnem reverentiam ei tribuere.* Ad *Smyrnenf.* omnes Episcopum Sequimini, ut *Jesus Christus patrem, & Presbyterium ut Apostolos, diaconos autem revereamini ut dei mandatum.* Nullus sine Episcopo aliquid operetur eorum quae conveniunt in Ecclesiam—illa firma gratiarum actio [Eucharistia] reputetur, quae sub ipso est, vel quam utique concesserit. Ubi utique apparet Episcopus illic multitudo sit, quemadmodum utique ubi est *Jesus Christus* illic Catholica Ecclesia, non licitum est sine Episcopo neque Baptizare neque *Agapen* facere, sed quod utique ille probaverit, hoc est deo beneplacitum, ut stabile sit, & firmum omne quod agitur. Honorans Episcopum a deo honoratus; qui occultum ab Episcopo aliquid operatur diabolo praestat obsequium. Ad *Ephes.* Concurrite sententia dei, etenim, *Jesus Christus* incomparabile nostrum vivere, patris sententia ut & ipsi, [Episcopi] secundum terrae fines determinati *Jesus Christi* sententia sunt, unde deet vos concurrere Episcopi Sententiâ. Ad *Magnesi.* In concordia dei studete omnes operari, praesidente Episcopo in loco dei.—Ad *Trallef.* omnes revereantur diaconos ut mandatum *Jesus Christi*, & Episcopum ut *Jesus Christum* existentem filium patris, Presbyterium autem ut [Synedrium] concilium dei—valete in *Jesus Christo* subjecti Episcopo, ut dei mandato, similiter & Presbyterio. Ad *Magnesi.* He commends *Sotion* the Deacon, Quoniam subjectus est Episcopo, ut *Gratiae Dei*, & Presbyterio ut legi *Jesus Christi*. See many more citations to this purpose out of this Father, in *Dr. Hammonds Dissert. 2. Cap. 25.*

† 1 Tim. 15. 17.

1 Cor. 14. the  
holy Communi-  
on is called (Eu-  
charistia) giv-  
ing of Thanks,  
πῶς ἐστὶ τὸ  
ἀμῶν ἐν τῷ  
εὐχαριστία.

*Justin Martyr* in his Apology to the Emperor *Antoninus*, written about 155. speaking of the Customes of the Christians, writes thus: Postea [† πρὸς τὸν] praeposito panis, & aquae & vini poculum offertur, quibus ille acceptis—presidens vero postquam gratiarum actionem, [† Eucharistiam] perfecit—deinde lector quiescente praesidens orationem qua populum instruit, habet, precibus peractis, panis offertur, & vinum & aqua, & praepositis itidem preces & gratiarum actiones fundit.

*Hegesippus* a Christian Writer, who flourished Anno Dom. 140. is cited by *Euseb. lib. 4. c. 22.* giving an account of the Bishops of his days, where he saith, Se plurimos Episcopos Romae Convenisse, & ab omnibus unam eandemque audisse Doctrinam; and particularly of the Church of *Corinth*, *Corinthiorum* (inquit) Ecclesia in rectâ fide permanfit [vivens Plebs] usque ad Primum Episcopum, and *Jerusalem*, Postquam (inquit) *Jacobus* cognomine *Iustus* Martyrium pertulit, frater patruelis domini *Symeon* *Cleopae* filius Episcopum constituitur.

About the same time, or a little before, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* wrote several Epistles, apud *Euseb. l. 4. c. 23.* One to the *Athenians*, in which he makes mention of *Quadratus* formerly their Bishop, and of *Publius the Martyr*, Bishop before him, and then of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, *St. Pauls* Convert, as their first Bishop. Another to the *Gnostians*, in which he exhorts *Pinytus* their Bishop, Ne grave onus castitatis fratrum cervicibus tanquam necessarium imponat. Another, *Gortinensi Ecclesiae*, in which he commends their Bishop for the renowned courage of his Church, τὸς ὕπ' αὐτὸν ἑκκατοῖς; Another to the *Romans*, wherein he commends *Soter* their Bishop for his Charity and Hospitality.

*Irenaeus*, who flourished Anno Dom. 180. writing against the *Valentinians*, Argues thus: Habemus annuenera eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, & Successores

res eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim, & latenter à reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant, valde enim perfectos, & irreprehensibiles eos esse volebant, quos & Successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum Magisterii tradentes. After this he gives a Catalogue of the Bishops, who had succeeded Peter, and Paul, in the Church of Rome; after again, he urgeth, That Polycarp made Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostles, knew no such Doctrine; Polycarpus autem non solum ab Apostolis edoctus, & conversatus cum multis ex iis qui dominum nostrum viderunt, sed etiam ab Apostolis in Asia, in eâ, quæ est Smyrnis Ecclesia constitutus Episcopus, quem & nos vidimus.—— See also his Epist. to Victor apud Euseb. l. 5. c. 23. Clemens Alexandrinus Contemporary, which Irenæus in the Story of the Debauched Young Man, who was converted by St. John, apud Euseb. lib. 3. c. 23. saith, Quum ex insula Patmo Ephesum rediisset Iohannes, ad finitimas rogatus se contulit, partim ut Episcopos constitueret, partim ut integras Ecclesias componeret.—— vultu ad eum verso, qui super cunctos Episcopos erat constitutus, hunc (inquit) testibus Ecclesiâ, & Christo studio se tibi commendo.—— Afterwards, agedum (inquit) Episcopo, redde nobis depositum, quod ego, & Christus tibi commendavimus, sub testimonio Ecclesiæ cui præsidet. And Strom. 6. mentions three Degrees of Clergy, nam hic quoque in Ecclesiâ (πρεσβυτερι) progressionem Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, Diaconorum sunt imitationes gloriæ Angelicæ; and Strom. 3. Tum Episcopos (inquit Apostolus) oportet constitui, qui ex domo propria toti quoque Ecclesiæ præesse meditati

Tertullian, whom I should have named before Clemens Alexandrinus, de præscript. c. 36. affirms, That the Apostles Chairs or Apostolick Thrones, remained still in his time, which was the latter end of the Second, and beginning of the third Age.—— Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipse adhuc Cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsident.—— proxima est tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum. Si non longè es à Macedoniâ, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adiaceres, habes Romam.—— and c. 32. Edant ergo origines Ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit habuerit auctorem, & antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos differunt: sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesiâ Polycarpum à Iohanne collocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum itidem, perinde utique & ceteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. And de Baptismo c. 17. dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri, & diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi autoritate.

After Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandr. Origen, who flourished Anno Dom. 230. writes thus in 2 Hom. in Num. Putasne qui sacerdotio funguntur, agere omnia quæ illo ordine digna sunt? — unde est, quod sæpe audimus blasphemare homines, & dicere, Ecce qualis Episcopus, aut qualis Presbyter, vel qualis diaconus? and Hom. 16. in Matth. Episcopi, & Presbyteri, quibus creditur.—— and 7 Hom. in Hierom. Plus à me (Presbytero) exigitur, quàm à diacono, plus à diacono, quàm à Laico, qui vero totius Ecclesiæ arcem obtinet (Episcopus) pro omni Ecclesiâ reddet rationem.

Cyprian, who flourished Anno Dom. 248. writes thus in his 27. Epist. Lapsis. Dominus noster.—— Episcopi honorem, & Ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in Evangelio, loquitur, & dicit, Petre, ego tibi dico, quia tu es Petrus, & super ipsam petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferorum non vincunt eam, & tibi dabo claves, &c.—— inde per temporum, & successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio, & Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesiæ super Episcopos constituantur, & omnes actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernentur, cum hoc itaque divina lege fundatum sit, miror.—— Epist. 68. he calls the Ordination of a Bishop, sub populi assistentis conscientia traditionem divinam, & Apostolicam observationem; and instanteth in Act. 1. 15. and Epist. 65. upon occasion of a Deacon reproaching Rogatianus his Bishop,—— Pro solita tuâ humanitate fecisti, ut mallet de eo nobis conquiri, quum pro Episcopatus vigore, & Cathedræ autoritate haberes potestatem, quâ posses de illo statim vindicari.—— Meminisse autem diaconi debent, quoniam Apostolos, id est Episcopos & præpositos dominus elegit, diaconos autem post ascensum domini in cælos Apostoli sibi constituerunt, Episcopatus sui & Ecclesiæ ministros; And Epist. 42. to Cornelius Bishop of Rome, Hoc enim vel maxime frater & laboramus & laborare debemus, ut unitatem à domino, & per Apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantum possumus obtinere curemus. Epist. 69.—— Christi, qui dicit ad Apostolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpositos, qui Apostolis vicariâ ordinatione succedunt, qui audit vos, me audit. Athanasius,

*Atbanasius*, who flourished *Anno Dom.* 326. writing to *Dracontius* Elected to a Bishoprick, and refusing it, saith, *Quod si nullam omnino mercedem Episcopi functioni destinata credis, servatoremque, qui eam ita instituit contemnis*——

*Damasus*, who flourished *Anno Dom.* 367. *Epist.* 4. de chorepiscopis. *Nullus ex Septuaginta discipulis, quorum speciem isti gerunt, nil de hoc quod Apostolis eorumque successoribus (Episcopis) specialiter debebatur legitur assumpsisse.*

*Epiphanius*, who flourished *Anno Dom.* 360. *Hæres.* 75. writes thus: — *Docet divinus Apostoli sermo, quis sit Episcopus, & quis Presbyter, cum dicit ad Timotheum, qui erat Episcopus, Presbyterum ne objurges.* *Ambrosius* de dignit. sacerdot. writes thus: *Claves illas regni cælorum in beato Petro cunctis suscepimus sacerdotes, (i. e. Episcopi)* for in the following Chapters he asserts, That the Bishops in *St. Peter* received the Keys from Christ, and the Presbyters from them.

*Tom. 6.* *Augustin*, ad *Quod vult deum de hæresibus*, among other Heretical Opinions of *Aerius*, reckons this for one, *Quod docebat Presbyterum ab Episcopo nullâ differentiâ debere discerni.* De verbis dom. *Serm.* 24. Dicit ergo, qui vos spernit me spernit. Si solis Apostolis dixit, qui vos spernit, me spernit, spernite nos, si autem sermo ejus pervenit ad nos, & vocavit nos, & in eorum loco constituit nos, videte ne spernatis nos, & ne ad illum perveniat injuria, quam nobis feceritis. Ad *Crescon.* *Grammat.* l. 1. Attende etiam quod quemadmodum ad Titum cum explicaret (*Paulus*) qualis esse Episcopus debeatur—— there he asserts *Titus* to have been a Bishop, Non ergo solos, qui ex circumcissione sunt, sed eos maximè tales esse ait, oportere tamen in doctrinâ sanâ redargui resellique ab Episcopo vaniloquos, & mentis seductores indubitata præceptione firmavit. There he saith, That *St. Paul* commanded all Bishops in *Titus* to exhort, and convince Gainfayers; And in the next words he saith, He looked upon that Precept, as given to himself, Unde hoc etiam mihi jussum esse cognosco, hoc pro viribus ago,—— Enarrat. in *Psal.* 44. (in our Translation the 45. 16. v.) Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii. Quid est pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii? patres missi sunt Apostoli, pro Apostolis filii nati sunt tibi, Constituti sunt Episcopi. Hodie enim Episcopi, qui sunt per totum mundum unde nati sunt? ipsa Ecclesia patres illos appellat, ipsa illos genuit, & ipsa illos constituit in sede patrum [Apostolorum] non ergo te putes desertam quia non vides Petrum, quia non vides Paulum, quia non vides illos, per quos nata es; de prole tua tibi crevit paternitas.—— Contra literas *Petili.* lib. 2. c. 51. Cathedra tibi quid fecit Ecclesiæ Romanæ in quâ Petrus sedet, & in quâ hodie *Anastasius* sedet, vel Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitana in quâ *Jacobus* sedet, & in quâ hodie *Johannes* sedet—— quare appellas Cathedram Pestilentie Cathedram Apostolicam?

*Chrysostome* in his Homily on *Ignatius*, saith, he was Successor to *St. Peter* in the See of *Antioch*, ordained by the Apostles, ut tanto principatu dignus; and in his Homilies on *Timoth.* and *Titus*, he expresses his opinion of Bishops, as of an Apostolical Institution.

Perhaps it may seem superfluous to shew further how effrontedly this *Antiepiscoparian* speaks, in saying, He died in the Faith of the Primitive Christians; but because the Presbyterians have the confidence to represent *Hierom*, as a Patron of their Cause, I will take a little more pains to shew how they have abused the World by this pretence; in demonstrating, that this Father held the authority of Bishops to be above, and distinct from that of Presbyters, and also a Divine Institution. For in his *Catalog. Script. Ecclesiast.* 3. † *Jacobus frater Domini cognomento Justus*—— post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus—— *Hegesippus* vicinus Apostolicorum temporum in quinto commentariorum libro de *Jacobo* narrans, ait, Suscepit Ecclesiam Hierosolymæ post Apostolos frater Domini *Jacobus*, cognomento *Justus*. 11 *Timotheus* autem † *Ephe-siorum* Episcopus ordinatus a beato *Paulo*—— 12 *Titus* Episcopus *Cretæ*—— 27 *Polycarpus* *Johannis* Apostoli discipulus, & ab eo *Smyrnæ* Episcopus ordinatus, totius *Asiæ* princeps fuit. Com. in *Galat.* 1. 19. Paulatim procedente tempore, & aliis ab his, quos dominus elegerat ordinati sunt Apostoli, sicut ille ad *Philippenses* sermo declarat, dicens, necessarium existimaui *Epaphroditum*.—— Here he asserts, That the Apostles, who were chosen by Christ, Ordained other Apostles, as *Epaphroditus*, *Phil.* 2. 25. and *Mark.* *Catal. Script. Eccles.* 15. *Marcus* discipulus & interpret *Petri*—— primus *Alexandriæ* Christum annuncians constituit Ecclesiam, And *Proem.* in *Matth.* *Marcus* interpret *Petri* Apostoli, & *Alexandrinæ* Ecclesiæ primus Episcopus.—— Here by the way, it may be observed in answer to *NAKED TRUTH*, That *St. Hierom* saith, That such, and such persons were Ordained Bishops by the Apostles; and surely in saying so, he meaneth, that they had

† *Gal.* 1.  
18, 19.  
*Act.* 12. 17.  
*Gal.* 2. 12.  
*Act.* 21. 18.  
*Act.* 15.

† *Psalm.* 1. 3.  
c. 4.

Bishops pro-  
ved to be a dis-  
tinct Order  
from Presby-  
ters.



had a new Ordination distinct from that of Presbyters; for it's most reasonable to suppose, that the Father used the word in the signification it had in his own time, when, and long before there was a distinct Ordination of Bishops, by a new imposition of hands, by three Persons of the Episcopal Order. So in *Euseb. l. 6. c. 43.* *Cornelius Bishop of Rome, Anno Dom. 255.* writes to *Fabius* touching the Ordination of *Novatianus*. *Hæc tres (accitos Episcopos) manuum impositione [æqueantibus] Episcopatum ei dare coegit.* And the same Bishop to *St. Cyprian*, *Epist. 46.* *Tantummodo circumductos se quoque commisisse schismatica, ut paterentur ei manus quasi in Episcopum imponi.* And *Cyprian Epist. 68.* plainly distinguishes the Ordinations of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, each from other. — *Nec hoc in Episcoporum tantum, & Sacerdotum, sed in diaconorum ordinationibus observasse Apostolos animadvertimus;* and afterwards, *Ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui Præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem provincie proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur, plebe præsentè, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit, quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini Collegæ nostræ ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, & de Episcoporum, qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio, Episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei in locum Basilidis imponerentur.* See also *Cyprian Epist. 52.* and *Eusebius l. 5. c. 6.* of the like Ordinations, and *Can. 1. and 2 Apost.* *Episcopi à duobus vel tribus Episcopis ordinentur.* *Presbyter ab uno ordinatur & diaconus, & reliqui clerici.* From all which it is plain, that Bishops before *St. Hieron's* time had a different Ordination from Presbyters; and if so, then the new Ordination must infer a new Authority, and the same Authority which this Father understood to have been conferred on *Timothy*, and *Titus* Bishops by the Apostles, the same he understands to have been conferred on *Polycarp*, and *Epaphroditus*, and the other Bishops; and hence it appears, that That notion of *Blondels*, which *Mr. Baxter* hugs so much in his *Nonconformist's plea*, of the Senior Presbyter's being a Bishop without new Ordination, is a meer Phancy and Shift. But to go on with *St. Hieron*, in the conclusion of his *Epist. to Evagrius*, which the Presbyterians rely so much upon, *Ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de veteri testamento, quod Aaron, & filii ejus, atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi in Ecclesiâ sibi vendicent.* *Epist. ad Nepotianum,* esto subjectus Pontifici tuo, & quasi animæ parentem suscipe — quod Aaron & filios ejus, hoc Episcopum, & Presbyteros esse noverimus; and *Epist. 54.* speaking of the Bishops of his own Age; he saith, *Apud nos Apostolorum locum tenent Episcopi.* And in *Psal. 45. 16.* *Nunc, quia Apostoli à mundo recesserunt habes pro his Episcopos filios, sicut & hi patres tui, quia ab ipsis regeris.* And *Epist. 1. ad Heliodor.* speaking of the Modern Bishops, he saith, *Stant loco Pauli, tenent locum Petri;* and *Epist. ad Riparium adversus Vigilantium,* *Misor Sanctum Episcopum, in cuius parochiâ esse presbyter dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus, & non Virgâ Apostolica confrigere vas inutile, & tradere in interitum carnis.* Here he plainly asserts the Bishops Apostolical Rod, or Authority in Excommunicating a Presbyter; and by that expression, *Quid enim facit, exceptâ ordinatione, Episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?* he asserts, That only Bishops had power of Ordination; and from this Expression compared with the † forecited passages, I appeal to any Presbyterian in the World, whether they think that this Father durst have undertaken to have Ordained a Presbyter himself, or durst have owned any Presbyter for such, made such only by the imposition of Presbyters hands. Nay in this very Epistle *Ad Evagr.* he saith, That the Greatness, or Littleness, Richness, or Poverty of Diocesses, makes not one Bishop above another, but that they are all *Ejusdem Meriti, & sacerdotii, & Apostolorum Successores.* And in his Proem to *St. Matth.* speaking of *St. Johns* Gospel, he saith, The Apostle wrote it against the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*, *Coactus ab omnibus pene tunc Asiæ Episcopis, & multarum Ecclesiarum legationibus.* The truth is, this Father being offended at the arrogance of the Deacons of his time, and especially of those of *Rome*; wrote this Epistle to *Evagrius*, *Contra eos, qui diaconum Presbytero æquabant;* and had no ill design at all upon the Apostolical, or Episcopal Office, but only he scrued up the dignity of the Priests Office to as high a pitch as he could, which made him contradictory to himself, in asserting the original Identity of Bishops and Presbyters in that Epist. and his Commentaries upon *Titus 1. 5.* where he writes, *Idem est ergo Presbyter & Episcopus, & antequam diaboli instinctu Schismata in religione fierent, & dicerent in populis ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cepha, communi Presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiæ gubernabantur; postquam vero unusquisque eos, quos baptizaverat suos putabas esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur*

† Those who desire to see more, may consult Dr. Hammond, dissent. 2. Cap. 29.

*ceteris, ad quem omnis Ecclesie cura pertineret, & schismatum semina tollerentur.*

Having now shewed, that the Primitive Christians believed the Function of a Bishop, to be distinct from that of a *Presbyter*, and Superior to it; and that the Bishops were the Successors of the Apostles, and of Christs institution, as they were; I hope it is plain, that this Antiepiscope Deceiver dyed not in the Faith of the Primitive Christians, as he hath the impudence here to profess. From what I have here said of the Episcopal Office and Authority, I may draw some Corollaries. First, that the Primitive Catholick Church acted in Conformity to its own Profession, in declaring *Aerius*, as an *Antiepiscope*, an Heretick. Secondly, that Church-Government is not indifferent, but that the † *Episcopal* is immediately of Apostolical, and mediately of Christs institution, and by consequence (at least) as unalterable as the *Baptism of Infants*, and observation of the *Lords-Day*; which the *Presbyterians* with good reason declare, that the Magistrate ought not to change, or take away. Thirdly, that it is Blasphemy to say, that Episcopacy is an Antichristian usurpation over the Church. Fourthly; that to assert with the *Covenanters*, that the *Presbyterian-Government* is of Divine institution; is an Unscriptural, Heretical, and absurd Doctrine, contrary to the Word of God, and the practice and profession of the Holy Catholick Church.

† *Episcopos esse in Ecclesia debere tantam institutionem Apostolicam, ac ordinationem proinde divinam contra Puritanos, contraque Bellarminum semper fens, qui negat Episcopos a deo immediate suam jurisdictionem accepisse. Sed nihil mirum a Puritanis eum stare, quum Jesuita nihil, quam Puritano-papista sint.* This was the Judgment of King James, as is observed by Beccanus de Prim. regn. Angl. c. 7. Jacobus regis prefat. Monar.

† The Kings larger Declaration pag. 75.

\* *Presbyteries Tryal* pag. 50.

And as this *Jesuited Presbyterian* died not in the Faith, or Profession of the Primitive Christians, so he died not in the Faith of the Reformed Churches. First, not of the Church of England, which is Governed by Bishops, like the Primitive Churches, and after the warrant of their example hath Instituted Ceremonies, and worships God by *Liturgical Forms*. Nor secondly, of the Reformed Church of France, which submits to the regulation of the Edict of *Nantes*, which is a pure and Secular Edict, and which hath always worshipped God by a *Common-Prayer-Book*, and observes Holy-days, as *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsunday*; and which reverences Protestant Bishops after the example of *Calvin*, and *Beza* their first Reformers; and owns Ministers Ordained by them, and are never without some such in their Church. And whose † Pastors, especially those of *Charenton*, were offended at the *Solemn League and Covenant*, as an indelible Scandal to the Protestant Cause; as also the Professors, Ministers, and Consistory of *Geneva*; and their neighbour Reformed Churches, as was certified to King Charles the First by his Publick Ministers abroad.

Nor lastly died he in the Faith of the Reformed Church of Scotland, which never professed Episcopacy to be an unlawful, or Antichristian Constitution, &c. as may be seen in the Larger, and Lesser *Scotticane* Confession in the *Harmony*; but I suppose he means the Covenanted Reformed Church, that Schismatical *Military* Church which was, and is the Reproach of the Protestant, or Reformed Name.

sition by the mighty Power, Goodness and Wisdom of God, I bear my witness and Testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Kirk of Scotland by 10. *Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General-Assemblies.* Also I bear my Witness, and Testimony to our Covenants, † *National*, and *Solemn-League* betwixt the three Kingdoms, which Sacred and Solemn Oath, I believe, cannot be dispensed with, nor loosd by any person or Party upon earth; but are fully binding these Nations, and will be so ever hereafter. Also I bear my Testimony to our publick Confessions of Sin, and engagements to Duty; and that either as to what concerns the Reformation of our Families, or Persons, or the

9. So he calls the incurable obstination of the Presbyterian Party in Schism against the Episcopal Church, and Faction, and Rebellion against the State.

10. A great \* *Apostle of the Covenant* said in the Pulpit, that the Angels, and Saints of heaven, if they could leave the sight of God, would be glad to come down, and see the admirable order of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland by *Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods*. Which Platform being no where to be found in the Scripture, made many that had cryed up the Presbyterian Discipline for a Divine Institution, turn *Independents, Quakers*, and *Atheists*, and condemn it (as in truth it is) for a meer human invention. Which, if Mr. Calvin had not hit upon, and set up in that exigence in *Geneva*, had never been known to the Western, no more than to the Eastern parts of Christendom; at least to great Britain,

Britain, where it hath been taught in both Kingdoms, without any ground in the Scriptures, or Antiquity, for the sole indispensable government of the Church.

† The *National Covenant* is that which in the *Harmony* is called *Generalis Confessio*; † King Charles it was first Subscribed by King James of blessed Memory, and his Household 1580. by Persons of all Ranks 1581. by an Ordinance of the Privy-Council, and Act of General-Assembly. It was Subscribed again by all sorts of Persons 1590. by a new Ordinance of Council at the desire of the General Assembly, with a general Bond for maintaining the true Religion and the Kings Person; and so far, Authority permitting, or commanding it, all was well. But then afterwards in † 1638. without the Kings Authority, or Commission from his Council, they imposed it again according to a new Interpretation of their own, although no Authority can interpret any Oath, Law, or Rescript, but that which made it, or those, whom they who made it have Constituted Interpreters, and Judges thereof. \* The new Interpretation was, That this Confession was to be interpreted, and understood against all the pretended Innovations, as if every one of them had been expressed therein, viz. The Five Articles of Perth, the Service Book, the Book of Canons, the High-Commission, and Episcopacy it self, although these things were neither named, nor hinted at in that Confession; whereof the first Framers only abjured in it those *Romish* Corruptions, which in their time had infected the Church. Besides all this, they altered the Bond, which was annexed to the former Confession, by adding these words without authority, *A mutual defence of one another against all Persons whatsoever*; by which, what they meant, the King by woful experience found. The Copy of this Confession may be seen in the forecited larger Declaration of the King. † See the Declaration in (w.) on the first Speech, and the Kings larger Declarat. pag. 57. † See the Declaration in (w.) on the first Speech, and the Kings larger Declarat. pag. 68, 69, 70.

Reformation of the whole Church in general; As also to the Causes of Gods wrath: (the rejecting of which is to be feared to be one of the greatest causes of Gods wrath this day against the Land.) I do also bear Witness and Testimony to the Protestation given in against the Controverted Assemblies, in the publick Resolvings for bringing in the <sup>12</sup> Malignant Party into places of Power and Trust, contrary to our solemn Engagements and Obligations to God; Also I adhere to our <sup>13</sup> Confessions of Faith, larger and shorter Catechisms. I witness my Testimony against Popery, which is so greatly increased, yea so much Countenanced, and professed openly by many, and that without the least punishment. I bear witness also against the Antichristian Prelacy now Established by Law, contrary to our Vows to Almighty God; And against the Rescinding of our solemn Oaths and Engagements, as a thing that calls for Divine Vengeance; And against all Oaths and Bonds contrary to our Covenant and Engagements, especially that Oath of <sup>14</sup> Su-

11. A Seditious and Blasphemous Book so called, which was burnt in Scotland by the hand of the common Hangman. See *Poormans Cnp*, pag. 19.

12. So he calls the Loyal, and Episcopal Party.

13. See Note (13.) on the first Speech.

14. So the Presbyterian Jesuit, calls the Scottish Oath of Allegiance: This is the Form of it, and let the Protestant World judge if it be an Oath, That calls for the Vengeance of God.

#### The Scottish Oath of Allegiance.

I For Testification of my faithful Obedience to my most Gracious Sovereign Charles, King of Great Britain, &c. Affirm, Testify, and Declare by this my solemn Oath, that I acknowledge my said Sovereign onely Supream Governor of this Kingdom, over all Persons, and in all Causes; and that no Foreign Prince, Power, State, or Person Civil, or Ecclesiastick, hath any Jurisdiction, Power, or Superiority over the same; and therefore I do utterly renounce, and forsake all Foreign Power, Jurisdiction, and Authorities;



† Contra om-  
nes mortales.

thivities; and shall at my utmost power, Defend, Assist, and Maintain his Majesties Jurisdiction foresaid, against all † deadly: and shall never decline his Majesties Power and Jurisdiction, as I shall answer to God.

premacý, the <sup>15</sup> Declaration against our Covenant, and that Bond called the <sup>16</sup> Bond of Peace, and that

15. See Note (w) on the first Speech.

16. That is, *The Bond for keeping the Peace*, whereby the Taker obligeth himself only to live Peaceably, and not to rise in Arms against the King. This Bond was tendered to the Rebels taken in the Battel at *Penland-hills*, and refused by many of them, who were Hanged, and are since reckoned among the Martyrs of the Cause. It was likewise tendered to the late Rebels, who were taken after the Battel of *Bothwell-Briggs*, but about 300. of them refused it, and are since Transported; but five more especially, who were accomplices with the Murderers of the late Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and who would not confess that the Killing of him was a *Sin*, or *Murder*, when they were asked in both Terms by Authority, if it were so? were Sentenced to be Hanged in Chains at *Magus*, the place where that Execrable Murder was committed. Was it ever heard in any other Christian Nation, That any men refused to dye by the hand of the Executioner, rather than engage not to rise in Arms against their lawful Sovereign? The Christians under the *Turks* would not dye Martyrs, if they Suffered upon that Principle. Lord Jesu pity the madness, and delusion of this People. Amen. Amen.

<sup>17</sup> horrid Bond so frequently imposed against the Meetings of his People in *Fields* and *Houses*, intended for the down bearing of the Gospel and Interest of our Lord and Master, with all other Bonds publick or private, contrary to our Obligations and Covenants to God; also against all such that Connive at, or Comply with, or Strengthen the hands of this Prelatical, Malignant, and Persecuting Party; As also against all Errors, Schisms, and Heresies, contrary to our Engagements to God, especially against that Ruining, and Soul-deluding Evil, or ra-

17. This is the Form of it, and let the World judge, whether it deserves the name of horrid, or no:

#### The Form of the BOND.

I ———— underscribing, do faithfully bind, and oblige me, That I, my Wife, Bairns, and Servants respectively, shall no ways be present at any Conventicles, and disorderly Meetings in time coming, but shall live orderly in Obedience to the Law, under the Penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament made there-*anent*. As also I bind, and oblige me, That my whole Tenants, and Cotters respectively, their Wives, Bairns, and Servants shall likewise refrain, and abstain from the said Conventicles, and other illegal Meetings not authorized by

Law; and that they shall live orderly in Obedience to the Law. And further, That I, nor they shall Recept, Supply, or Commune with forfeited Persons, intercommuned Ministers, or Vagrant Preachers; but shall do our utmost Endeavour to Apprehend their Persons. And in case my said Tenants, Cotters, and their foresaids, shall Contravene, I shall take, or apprehend any Person or Persons guilty thereof, and present them to the Judge Ordinar, that they may be Fined, or Imprisoned therefore, as is provided in the Acts of Parliament made there-*anent*. Otherwise I shall remove them and their Families from my ground; and if I shall fail herein, I shall be liable to such Penalties, as the said Delinquents have incurred by the Laws, consenting to the Registration hereof in the Books of his Majesties Privy-Council, or Books of any other Judges Competent, that Letters and Executorials may be direct hereupon in Form as Effects, and Constitutes my Procurators.

† Ray. Rediv.  
page 50.

This is the Tenor of that Bond, which the Fanaticks railed so much against; and lest the force of it should be Eluded, the Privy-Council † Enacted, That every Her-  
rator,

ritor, who should receive into his Lands, or Service, any Tenants, or Servants of any other Heritor, without a Certificate from him, or the Minister of the Parish where they lived, That they lived orderly, as to the matter of Conventicles, should be subject to such Fines, as the Privy Council should think fit to inflict, to punish them for their Crime, and repair the damage that should accrue to the Heritor or Master, whose Tenants, or Servants they did receive.

While the Feuds were kept up in Scotland, it was usual for the King to bind the Chief for the Peaceable behaviour of the whole Tribe, or Clan; and because the Heritors, or Landlords of that Country have such a despotical power over their Tenants, it hath been the immemorial practice of the King, Privy-Council, and Parliament, upon occasion to bind Landlords of all qualities for the peaceable demeanour of their Tenants, and to give them Power, and Warrant to take Bonds from them, or upon their refusal to remove them from their possessions, if they were Rack-renters; but if they had Leases, to denounce them Rebels by Letters raised under the Signet of the Privy-Council. But because in England, where Tenants are not so dependent on their Landlords, such proceedings are not (nor indeed ought to be) practised; therefore an inconsiderable party of men, whom the Covenanters look upon as their Patrons, misrepresented this Bond in that Kingdom, for an Arbitrary, Tyrannical, and Illegal Proceeding, though some of the chief Complainers had themselves consented to the Enacting of the like, but more rigorous Orders in 1666. and in 1677. as may be seen in the *True Narrative of the Proceedings of the Privy-Council in Scotland*, &c. Printed at Edinburgh, and Reprinted by Authority at London, 1678.

The *Field-Preachers* damned this Bond with Bell, Book, and Candle; and particularly Mr. John Welsh, Preaching somewhere about Lanerk, and in Carrick, after he had severely reprov'd the People, for not coming Armed to the Conventicle, with Swords, and Pistols, to defend the Gospel; He said, *The Taking of this Bond, was a renouncing of their Baptism, and making a Covenant with the Devil more express, and worse than that of Witches.* And Mr. John Dickson, Preaching at a Conventicle May 26. 78. said, *That those who had taken it, had committed a greater Sin, than the Sin of the Holy Ghost, and were already in Hell.*

ther <sup>18</sup> *Devilry of Quakerism*, so much conniv'd at, it not allowed and countenanced by many, whose Office it is to restrain it; as also against all the steps and courses of backsliding and defection which have been and now are on foot in this Land, and against all the Branches and parts thereof, under whatsoever name or notion. Moreover, I bear my Testimony to all the Testimonies given both formerly and of late by our Suffering, and Banished Witnesses, and to all the Testimonies

18. Those who have read the Books of *Keith*, and *Barclay*, the *Scottish Quakers*, know the reason why the *Presbyterians* of that Country are so angry at that Sect. For they, and their Brethren by the help of their Books, pelt the Covenanters on all occasions, with such unanswerable vexatious Arguments, as these: That they ought not to object the *Surplice*, nor the imposition of other Ceremonies against the Church of England, who obliged Penitents for Adultery, and other Crimes to appear in Sackcloth, which was both a *Symbolical*, and *Jewish Ceremony*.

That the People of God called *Quakers*, have as much reason to say, That they Preach (which is to speak from God to men) by the Spirit; as the *Presbyterians* for asserting they can Pray (which is to speak from man to God) by the Spirit. That they therefore had the notion of Immediate Inspiration from them; or if by that Phrase of theirs, *Praying by the Spirit*, they understood not Inspiration of matter, and words in their Devotions, which they (the *Quakers*) profess to have, that then they ought to pray to God by prescribed Forms in publick Worship, as the People of the Communion of the *Anglicane Church* do. It being the height of Impudence and Blasphemy, for an Orator of a Congregation not Inspired, to undertake to pray, when he is not certain, either what, or how he shall speak. That therefore, there ought to be no Medium betwixt prescribed, and inspired Devotions in publick Worship; and that either the *Church of England*, or the People called *Quakers* are in the right, and *Extemporarians*, not Inspired, certainly in the Wrong.

That the *Presbyterian* Preachers are great Deceivers and Hypocrites, in pretending to their own People to Pray *by the Spirit*, and denying to others in close Argumentation, that they Pray by *Inspiration*; and that it appears from their own Writings, that their way of long praying was meer Art, Artificial Method, or Logical Contrivance, which any witty Boy shall learn and perform, as well as a Man.

That they of all other Christians cannot be the People of God, who set up, and maintain their Religion by shedding of Christian Blood; of which they have shed more in a few years within this little Isle, than was shed in the first Ten famous Persecutions within the vast circumference of the *Roman Empire*; and that the want of the Spirit of Meekness, and Passive Obedience, (which is as eminently seen among them, [*the Quakers*] as among the Primitive Christians) plainly declares, they are not Christ's.

That they have no reason to condemn the *Church of England* for *human Inventions*, for that their Prayers before, and after Sermon, and before and after Baptism and the Lords Supper, are *human Inventions*; That their Solemn League and Covenant is an *human* (or rather a *Diabolical*) *Invention*; Nay, That their Church-Discipline by *Kirk-Sessions*, *Presbyteries*, and *Synods*, is not only an *human*, but a new *Invention*, which hath no ground neither in the Scriptures, nor Ancient Christian Writers; whereas Church-Government by Bishops (which they condemn) was a very ancient, universal Constitution, and hath far more to say for it self, than theirs.

That the Bishops, and their Clergy and People, are far more Civil, Kind, Meek, Affable, and Charitable, than the Ministers and People called *Presbyterians*, who have always been of a Violent, Furious, Proud, and Persecuting Spirit, apt to exclude all from Salvation, but themselves. That they ought not to complain of legal Rigours, and Persecution, who Persecuted the People which call themselves the Church, without, and against Law, by all manner of ways, and with the greatest rigour that men could be Persecuted; and therefore whatsoever they can suffer from them now, is but what themselves most unjustly inflicted before. These and such like, are the ways of Arguing, whereby the *Quakers* vex and expose the *Presbyterians*, who therefore, call them (for they have an excellent talent that way) *Devilish*, *Satanical*, *Damned*, and all other names that belong to Hell.

of our <sup>19</sup> *first Sufferers, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers, and others*, that have Suffered in this City and Kingdom, who cheerfully laid down their lives with *admirable* <sup>20</sup> *Divine assistance*; and to all those that have laid down their lives, either formerly or of late in the Fields; As also to those, who have sealed their Testimonies, either with Forfeitures, <sup>21</sup> *Imprisonment, or Banishment* on this Account, Score, and Quarrel; And particularly I bear my Testimony against that horrid Violation, done to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that by usurping upon his Royal Prerogatives, and in spoiling him of his *Crown, Scepter, Sword, and Royal Robe*, by taking those Princely Ornaments to invest a man with, whose Breath is in his Nostrils, through that woful <sup>22</sup> *Supremacy* so much applauded to, and universally owned, e-

19. See Note (3.) on the first Speech.

20. See Note (b) on this Speech, and (d.) and (f.) on the first Speech.

21. Particularly their Ministers in the *Basil*.

22. See Note (7.) on the first Speech.



ven of such of whom better things might have been expected; I mean the <sup>23</sup> *Indulged*, and such as Countenanced them in that way, even to the Ruining and Renting of the Church; which alas is too evident by sad and doleful experience; As also I bear my Testimony against the <sup>24</sup> *Test* imposed by the late Convention of Estates, whereby the Enemies of Christ and his Church are supplied with all necessities for the utter Extirpating of the Interest of Christ and his Church. There is one thing more I would say, The Lord seems to be very wroth with this Land. The causes are many; First, The dreadful Slight the Lord Jesus has received in the <sup>25</sup> *Offers of the Gospel*; Secondly, The horrid Profanity that has overpassed the whole Land, that not only <sup>26</sup> *Religion in its Exercise*, but even <sup>†</sup> *common Civility is gone*; Thirdly, There is the horrid perjury in the matters of

<sup>23</sup> The *Hill-Preachers* call the *Indulged* Ministers (of whom more in Note (u.) on the first Speech) *Council-Curates*, and they represent them to the People as Traitors to Jesus Christ, because they Preach under Restrictions by Licence from the Privy-Council; and the Followers of the Field-Ministers hate them as bad as the *Bishops-Curates*, (so they call the Church-Ministers) especially those among them who conscientiously keep the conditions upon which they are permitted to Preach.

<sup>24</sup> See Note (18.) on the first Speech.

<sup>25</sup> From the Field-Preachers.

<sup>26</sup> Meetings in Fields, and Houses.

† The *Scots* are naturally a very Civil People; and where the *Covenanting Principles* have not soured their Tempers, as much Civility and good nature may be expected from them, as from any other Nation in the World. But among the *Presbyterian Party*, there is nothing but

pure Barbarity to be found towards those, who are known to favour the Church; especially towards the Bishops, and their Clergy, whom they treat upon all occasions with all imaginable rudeness; infomuch that I wonder, that this Gentleman should complain of the want of common Civility, which he could do upon no other account, but that from the time of his Apprehension, to the hour of his Execution, he was treated, as Traitors and Rebels usually are under all the Governments of the World. Certainly, he had forgot his own Party, when he made this Complaint; and therefore, though he be gone, I shall refresh the memory of his Brethren, that they upon the same occasion may not make the same groundless Complaint.

Let them then remember their inhuman usage of *Montrose*, their insolent and undutiful carriage to his *present Majesty*, when he stood in need of their Assistance; the barbarous manner in which they Murdered the late *Archbishop of St. Andrews*; the barbarous indignities which they offered to the dead Body of an Officer called *Graham*, (whom they killed at that Conventicle which began the late Rebellion) upon the account of his Name: The insolencies which they committed in regular Ministers, and Loyal Gentlemens Houses, as they Marched along the Countrey to *Glasgow*; particularly, in Stabbing, Cutting, and Gashing his Majesties Picture, wheresoever they found it; as by name in the House of the Laird of *Hagges*: Their barbarous behaviour in the Archbishops House at *Glasgow*, where they burnt his Books, cut in pieces his best Hangings, and Furniture; and almost killed a Gentlewoman with Blows, who was left to keep the House, only for saying these words, *Gentlemen, I hope you'll remember that you are in the Archbishops House*: Their barbarous, and sacrilegious behaviour in the Cathedral of *Glasgow*; where finding a Tomb-stone over the two Children of the Bishop of *Argyle*, with an Inscription of a Modern date, *they digged up their Bodies, run them through with their Swords, and left them lying above the ground*.

The barbarous Lies, and continual defamations with which they Persecute the *Duke of Lauderdale*, because he stands as a Bulwark betwixt them and the Church. Their most barbarous usage of the Church-Ministers, as is evident from the two forecited Acts of Parliament, for the security of their Persons and Houses: not to speak of lesser indignities, as of laughing, scoffing, and flouting at them when they pass the Streets, and

refusing

refusing to Salute them, when they meet them in other company; and saying of Grace to themselves at Tables, where they are called to say Grace for the whole Company, as if they had taken Gods name in vain, or not concluded the Blessing in the name of Christ.

Nay, The *Presbyterian* Women of all sorts, not excepting those whose Quality and Education should have taught them more Civility, would not many years since, rise up, or bow, or make a Curtesy or drink to a Bishop, till their Interest obliged them to comply, with a *great, and better Principled Lady*, whose example hath much reformed them in this Point.

our Vows and Engagements; It's to be <sup>27</sup> feared, *the Lord will bring a Sword on these Lands which shall avenge the Quarrel of his Covenant*; Fourthly, There is a dreadful Formality and Supineness in the duties of Religion, which is introductive to that Wo which came upon the careless Daughters. Fifthly, Horrid ingratitude. What do we render to him for his Goodness? is not the most of all that we do, wickedness, and to strengthen our hands to do evil? Sixthly, *The want of humility under all our Troubles*; We are brought low, yet we are not low in the sight of God. And a Seventh thing is, dreadful Coverousness, and minding of our own things more than the things of God, and that amongst all Ranks. Would to God that there were not too many amongst us, who are Enemies to the Cross of Christ, and mind Earthly things; and yet I dare not say, but that there are many faithful and precious to him in Scotland, both of Ministers and Professors, whom I hope God will keep stedfast, and who will study to be sound and faithful to their Lord and Master, and whom I hope he will make as <sup>28</sup> *Brasen Walls, and as Iron Pillars, and as strong Defenced Cities*, in the following of their Dutie in these sad and evil Times: but it were to be Wished that there were not too many, who strengthen the hands of Evil Doers, and make themselves Transgressors

27. Indeed it is to be feared that the Covenanters will once more bring a Sword upon these Lands to avenge the Quarrel of the Covenant; and we all know, that the Sword of the *Presbyterians*, as well as that of the *Jesuits*, is the *Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon*, which was the *Word*, when they rose up in Rebellion to pull the *Papish Octavians* from King *James* in *Edinburgh*, when he was rescued by the *Hammermen*, *Presbytery Displayed*, pag. 49.

28. When God immediately called any man to any Charge, or Business, that would find Opposition from Wicked Men, or Devils; he was wont to inspire him with supernatural Courage, and Confidence, which by the *Jewish* Writers, is called the *Spirit of Might*; and as <sup>†</sup> *Maimonides* observes, it was always conferred upon the Person sent, and Employed by God after the Promise of *1 Hebra ani, or Ebjeb gnimmach, Go, and I will be with thee*. This Promise was solemnly made to *Moses*, *Exod. 3. 12.* to the *People of Israel*, who were called to Fight against Nations greater and stronger, than themselves, *Deut. 31. 6, 8* to *Jeshua* and the People together, *Jesh. 1. 5.* to the Prophet, *Ezek. 3. 8, 9.* where God assured him, That he would make *his Face strong against their Faces, and his Forehead strong against their Foreheads, and harder than a Flint or Adamant, so that he should not fear them, nor be dismayed at their Looks, though they were a rebellious House*. Lastly, To the Prophet *Jeremiah*, who told God, That he was no more able to deliver *Prophectical Messages, than a Child*; upon which, God assured him, That he would put *his words in his mouth, and be with him; and bid him not be afraid of their faces, for he would make him a Defenced City, an Iron Pillar, and Brasen Walls against the whole Land, both against King and Priests, and Princes and People, c. 1. 8, 9, 17, 18. and*

*c. 15. 19, 20.* which are the very words, which this *Deceiver* Blasphemously here applies to the *Covenanted Party*, as if the Spirit of Impudence, Rebellion, and Resisting the Magistrate, which rests upon them, were that Spirit of Supernatural Courage and Con-

confidence

† *More Notes*  
vol. p. 2. c. 38.

fidence, which God was wont to give to those whom he sent and employed about Business of his own. So in the New Testament, when Christ sent out the Apostles, after his Resurrection, he solemnly made this Promise unto them: *All power (saith he) is given unto you, both in Heaven and Earth, go ye therefore, and Teach all Nations Baptizing them, &c. and Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have Commanded you, and lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the World.* Accordingly we read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, who were the Prophets of the New Testament, with what invincible courage and resolution those poor men appeared before the *Jewish*, and *Heathen* Tribunals; and with what astonishing Presence, both of body and mind, they bore the name of Jesus *before the Kings and Princes, and People of the Earth.* I have been the more full in the explication of this notion, because the *Presbyterian* Ministers have been so guilty of applying these Promises of Divine Presence, and Assistance to themselves, and of talking and acting at such an arrogant rate; as if, like the Prophets, they had been sent, and employed by God. By this means, they have brought a great Scandal on the Ministerial Office, and made People loath the Pulpit, and the Church. How often do we find King *James* in the Sixth Book of *Spotswood's History*, complaining of the Sawciness, and Presumptuousness of the Ministers? with what confidence and authority did they presume to impose their own Injunctions, and Prohibitions upon him, and denounce Judgments against him in Gods name, as if they had been sent to him by Gods express Call, like *Nathan* to King *David*, *Moses* to *Pharaoh*, and *Elijah* to *Abah*, &c. and he had given them Foreheads of Adamant and Flint. And as they treated him with a Counterfeit sort of Prophetical boldness, liberty and zeal, so their Successors who had, and have a double Portion of that rude and insolent Spirit, have treated his Son, *Charles* the First, and his Grandson, *Charles* the Second; and so they will treat all the Kings that shall sit on this *British* Throne, as long as there can be found in the Bible any Prophetical Message, Promise, or Enterprize, which they can with any colour apply to themselves.

† At Weist, Bruce, Blake, Balgoun, Oud. Davidson, and the Ministers of Edinburgh. See also Presbytery Displayed, pag. 36. and 37. in the Story of James Gibson, who called the King to his Face before his Privy-Council. Persecutor, and Jeroboam, and that he and his Children should be rooted out, and conclude the (Royal) race.

by studying again to † build that which formerly they did destroy. But let such take heed to that <sup>29</sup> flying roll in *Zechary*, and let all the Lords Servants and Ministers, take heed that they watch and be steadfast, and quit themselves like men and be strong, and that they set their Trumpets to their mouths, and give a seasonable and faithful Warning to all Ranks concerning Sin and Duty, especially against the Sins of the sinful Time. It's to be lamented, and it's

† To set up Episcopacy, which before they had thrown down.

29. *Zachar.* 5. 1, 2, 3, 4. The Prophet relates the Vision he had of the flying Roll, which was twenty Cubits long, and ten broad, full of Curles on one side against Thieves, and on the other against False-Swearers, which this Deceiver, affecting (as the manner of this sort of Preachers is) Prophetical Expressions, and Confidence, abusively applies to those, who set up, or contributed to set up Episcopacy, which they had most sinfully abjured. But

if the Prophet saw a Roll full of Curles

twenty Cubits in length, and ten in breadth, against the Thieves, and False-Swearers in the Land, the wicked Covenanters may justly expect as many Curles to fall upon their heads, as a Roll ten times longer and broader can contain. Their Rebellions, Treasons, Murders, Assassinations, Railings, Slandering, Perjuries, Blasphemies, and Schisms will make it appear at the day of general Judgment, that all the Curles in the Law are due unto them, when as many of them, as dye without Repentance, shall be damned for those very Sins which they blasphemously call *Graces*; and when Jesus Christ for all their LORD! LORD! have we not done and Suffered such things for thy Name, and thy Interest, shall say unto them, I know ye not, depart from me ye Hypocrites, ye Blasphemers of my Name, into everlasting Burnings, prepared for the Devil and his cursed Angels.



sadly regretted by all of the <sup>30</sup> *Lords People*, that there has been so much *silence and fasting even* amongst Ministers; of how great concernment is it now in this sad juncture, that Ministers consider well, what it is that God calleth for at their hands, *not to be silent*, now especially when so many horrid and cruel things are acted, when they are so much called

<sup>30</sup>. Behold the Pride, the Spiritual Fast, and Self-Conceit of the *Presbyterian* Sect, who in all their Printed Books, Sermons, and Discourses, commonly style themselves, *The People of the Lord, The Godly Party, The Saints, &c.* as if all others of Reformed Episcopal Churches, and Communions, were a wicked, or at best but a meer formal sort of Christians, who did not belong to God. They agree in this Spiritual Arrogance not only with the *Arrians, Donatists, and Novatians* of old, but with the *Papists* themselves, who proudly, and un-

charitably call themselves *Catholicks*, and exclude all others from that Title, and from Salvation, but themselves.

But to return to the *Lords People*; I dare boldly say, That never any Reformed Bishop did yet equal, nor any Pope (

) exceed the Pride and Insolence of many of our *Presbyterian Becketts*, as may be seen in *Spotswood's History*, not to mention others, which I have had occasion to cite. Was ever any Answer more Insolent than that of Mr. Robert Bruce, to King James? *Your Majesty shall either lose the Marquess of Huntly, or Me*; and yet this Answer is defended by Mr. Robert Bailly in his *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times*. It is notoriously known in Scotland, That Mr. Robert Douglas of Edinburgh, and Mr. Patrick Gillespy of Glasgow, were more haughty and insolent in their behaviour, than all the Bishops (I will not except *Cardinal Beton*) that ever were in the Land. But to proceed; from the Pride of single men, let us reflect a little on the Insolence of their Spiritual Judicatories, the *Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly*. It is notoriously known what great State the *Presbytery*, or *Consistory* kept with King James, and it is upon Record in the *Presbytery-Books* of Edinburgh, how his † Majesty not once, but often hath sent Persons of Honour, and great Quality, demanding, or rather requesting some things of them, who have heard the Commissioners propose the Kings mind; but then to keep the power and place which the *King of Zion* had given them in that dignity which was suitable to so high a Trust, they have dismissed the Noblemen sent by the King, without Answer, and by Order of that *Spiritual House*, have appointed one or two, as *Commissioners of the Presbytery*, to go to the King with their *Will, and Pleasure*, losing nothing of *Christ's Authority*, and carrying themselves with the King, almost, as if two Free States, or two Free Princes had met to treat together.

The *Presbytery of Edinburgh*, as many yet alive remember, attempted to censure the Merchants for Carrying Wheat to Spain in a time of Dearth, because it was to feed Gods Enemies; but above all to Transport Wax to Spain, for that was to be accessory to Idolatry, because the Wax for the most part was employed in making Tapers, and Candles to the *Virgin Mary*, and other Saints.

The *Presbytery of St. Andrews* threatened to Excommunicate a man, who had gotten a Judgment from the highest Civil Judicatory in the Kingdom, against another who ought him a Sum of Money, if he persisted to put the Judgment in Execution; and he for fear of this dreadful Court and Sentence, desisted from his Pursuit.

Many instances might also be produced of this holy *Sanhedrim's* repealing of *Royal Grants confirmed by Law*, and of citing Noblemen, and Gentlemen before them, for Commencing Civil Suits against their own Tenants, because it bred *Strifes, withdrew the People of God from their lawful Vocations*, and hindered the progress of the Gospel, as may be seen in the Author cited in the Margin. They also undertook to Remove, and Transplant any Minister at pleasure, though never so learned and unblameable, upon a pretence, That it was for the Good of the Church, or, That the Congregation was not edified by his Preaching; as may be seen in the same Author, and as many yet alive can tell.

In their *Provincial Synods*, which consisted of Commissioners chosen out of all the *Presbyteries* within the Province, they extended their power in proportion to the dignity of the Court; and the Commissioners at their Return home, were to see that every Minister of their respective *Presbyteries*, were to Preach as the Synod did direct, and command.

† *Presbytery Displayed*, pag. 7, 8 &c.

• *Presbytery Displayed*, pag. 9, 10.

mand. The Nobility and Gentry were forced to court these leading Ministers, and make Addresses to them, as to so many Popes, to strengthen themselves and their Party, with the Spiritual Sword. In their going to, and coming from the Synods, the most Eminent of the Nobility, and Gentry used to meet them, and invite them to their Houses, lodge them in their best Chambers, and set them at the head of their Tables; and never any Bishops in Scotland entered Cities with such Convoys, and attended with such great Personages, as these Arch-Presbyters used to do. When Mr. Robert Bruce came from his Visitation in the West, or South, he made his Entrance into Edinburgh like a Prince, or like an Ambassador, or like the Pope into Rome: insomuch, That King James once looking out of the Window in his Palace, and seeing his Cavalcade, said with indignation, which extorted an Oath from him, *Mr. Robert Bruce, I am sure, intends to be King, and declare himself Heir to King Robert Bruce.*

Their General-Assembly was composed of Commissioners sent from all the Presbyteries of the Kingdom. It was the Supream *Sanhedrim*, wherein the King of *Sion* sat in the highest power and glory he could upon Earth. It was there, where Ecclesiastical Sovereignty, and Infallibility was to be found, and concerned it self in all Temporals, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*. The authority they exercised in it, they pretended to have by immediate Trust from Christ; and declared, That whosoever obeyed not this Sovereignty, be he King or Subject (it was all one) was to be Excommunicated. They allowed the King (or his Commissioner) to sit there, but he had only one *affirmative Voice*, and if the greater part of Voices determined contrary to his Voice, or his Conscience, he was bound to put it in Execution. In this Court, the Spiritual legislative power was seated; it was the highest Tribunal, and Judicatory of Christ upon Earth, from which no Person, no Office, no Condition of Creature was Privileged, and from whence no Appeal could be had.

The King had no power to appoint the time or place of this Assembly, but once a Year it must necessarily meet, and oftner if the Commissioners of Assembly thought fit. They Contemned, Usurped, and renounced the *Sovereign Authority* as it served their Turn; they denounced the same War against their Enemies, which God commanded *Israel* to execute against the *Canaanites*; all the Ministers of the Church were to Preach as they directed, and a Minister Preaching Treason, was to be censured by none, but themselves. They challenged to themselves a power of Condemning, Annulling, and Repealing Acts of Parliament, and of subjecting the Supream Civil Judicatory of the Nation to them; as in the case of *Graham* one of the *Lords of the Session*; and if any man doubt of the truth of these Assertions, let him read the 6th. Book of *Spotswood's History*, or the Author of *Presbytery Displayed in the General-Assembly*.

In their General-Assembly 1648. July 28. pag. 7. they made an Act, and Declaration against the Act of Parliament and Committee of Estates, and against all Oaths and Bonds imposed in the common Cause, without the Consent of the Kirk. They also Ordained all that engaged in the late Kings Relief, to incur the wrath of God, and to be proceeded with the highest Censure of the Church, which was the height of Blasphemy, Insolence, and Pride.

This Self-Conceit, and Persuasion which they had of their own Spiritual Excellence, and dearness to God, is the true reason why they indulge themselves the liberty of speaking so Contemptibly, Disdainfully, Slandorously, and Reproachfully of the Church, and all that are of Episcopal Communion, without any regard to the Functions or Qualities of Men.

*Naphtali* rails at the late King of Blessed Memory for a Papist, and having an hand in the *Irish Rebellion*; and at his Present Majesty, for not punishing the Papists for Burning of London, and compares him to *Nebuchadnezzar*, for setting up a Golden Image to be Worshipped, and to *Saul*, and *Uzziah*, for Usurping the Priests Office, and to *Julian the Apostate*, for destroying the Christian Religion, pag. 9. 26, 28. He also calls the Appointing the 29. of May, a Profane Institution, and saith, That the Native issue of the Prerogative, is the Establishing the Kingdom of Antichrist, and an Usurpation of the Prerogative of Jesus Christ; and saith, That the King Erects a Papacy in himself more absurdly than the Pope did; and saith, That he is a stated Antichrist. Pages 39, 40, 41, 90.

He Reproaches the Parliament pag. 86. saying, That they made the Kings Throne the foundation of Perjury and Apostacy; and pag. 87. he saith, That they Blaspheme the Spirit and Work of the Lord, in the Act For the Anniversary Remembrance of his Majesty.

*Majesties Birth and Restauration*; and pages 2. 93, and 94. he accuses them all of horrid Apostacy, and Rebellion against God, and of appointing a Declaration of high Impiety to be Signed; and faith, They were the Rebuilders of the Kingdom of Antichrist.

As for the *Privy-Council*, he calls them Murderers. *Page* 123. and *pag.* 91. he faith, That they have set the King in Christs Throne. He rails at the *City of Edinburgh*, for the Engagement they took of their Burgeses against the Rebels at *Penland Hills*, p. 166, 167. and accuses them of Apostacy, and Rebellion against God, and threatens them with the *Burning of London*; and pages 177, 178. he tells them, They had made a Conspiracy against the Lord, and against his Anointed.

As for the *Church-Ministers*, he calls them *Wolves*, *Thieves*, *Graceless Hivlings*, and *Plants* which God never planted; and faith, It is the indispenfable Duty of the People to drive them away, and root them up, *page* 108.

The Author of the *Apologetick Narration*, calls the Honourable Senators of the *College of Justice*, Perjured Men, and the Vilest of Men, from whom no Justice can be expected, and who are not worthy to be Judges among the Heathens, &c. and all because they have taken the Declaration against the *Covenant*. *Pages* 328, 329.

The General-Assembly 1648. in their Supplication to the late King, (*August* 12. ) who was then under imprisonment, hath these words: *It shall be your Majesties Wisdom in this, as in all that hath befallen you these Years past, to read the righteous hand of the Lord, writing bitter things against you: as for all your provocations, so especially for your resisting his Work, and authorizing by your Commissions, the shedding the blood of his People; for which it is high time to repent, that there may be no more wrath against You, and Your Realms.* And *page* 58. of that Supplication, they say: *Had your Majesty hearkened to our Counsel some years ago, the blood of many thousands, that now lies upon your Throne, might have been spared.*

The Assembly and Parliament in their Declaration against *Montrose*, Printed 1649. *pages* 7, 8, &c. call him *Excommunicate Traitor*, *Viperous Brood of Satan*, Child of the Devil, perfidious proud Atheist, and Traitour, though he had the Kings Commission for all that he did, and was a man of as eminent Piety, as Valour.

The Assembly of Divines at *London*, with the *Scottish Commissioners* drew up a Letter in *Latine*, and the same did the General-Assembly in *Scotland*, which by order of the *English House of Commons*, ( for so they called themselves ) they sent to the *Belgick*, *French*, *Helvetian*, and other Reformed Churches; wherein they assure them, That the King made it his whole business to root out the Protestant Religion, and used all means possible to reduce the Nation to Popery again.

I know a Gentleman, who hath a Letter pretended to be written from *Paris* in the name of the *French-Church*, dated *June* 5. 1662. wherein they call the *Parliament of Scotland* an *ungodly Assembly*, a *Seed of Evil Doers*, that gather themselves together against the Souls of the Righteous, and condemn Innocent Blood; that slay the upright, and breath out Blasphemies against the Heavens, &c. But the Style of this Letter demonstrates, That it was written by some Western Fanatick, and Fathered on the *French Church*.

In the Declaration of the Lords and Commons of *England*, sent to the General-Assembly 1643. *page* 9. they affirm, That the King and the Prelatical Party in *England* were in Arms for the ruining, and destruction of the Protestant Religion, and all the Professors thereof; and in the *English Ministers Letter* to the Assembly *page* 10. they call the King, and his Party, a generation of Brutish, Hellish Men; and *page* 17. they affirm, That the Prelatical Party are combined for the universal deprellion of the true Protestant Religion in *Europe*.

*Naphtali* *pag.* 117, 118. faith, *That the Bishops are favourers and encouragers of all Profaneness, Drunkenness, Adultery, Blasphemy, and that they have heaped together in their own Persons the Dunghill of vilest Vices, and transmitted the same over all the Land*; and the whole Fanatical Gang rail just now at the present Bishops, as their Predecessors did at the Bishops 1638. *Page* 300. he accuses *Archbishop Burnet*, ( now the most worthy Archbishop of *St. Andrews* ) of furious Zeal, Pride, Ambition, and Contempt of his Clergy, and domineering over them; though he is known in both Nations to be one of the most Moderate, Meek, and Humble Men on the Earth, and one that loves and cherishes his Clergy like a Father, and as a Father is beloved and revered by them again. He also calls the *Bishop of the Isles*, who is a man of emi-



nent Temperance, a Glutton; and the Bishop of *Dunkell*, who was a most Pious Man, and lover of true Piety in other Men; an hater of Godliness, and Good Men. And as for the *Curates*, (as he calls the regular Clergy) he calls them in general, Men void of the Fear of God, Drunkards, Whoremongers, and what not? pag. 302. And at this rate the whole Sect talks of Bishops, Episcopacy, the Clergy and the Church; and he that can speak with most Venom and Malice against them and the King, and the Duke of *Lauderdale*, is counted the greatest Saint.

Mr. *Andrew Cant*, Eldest Son of old Mr. *Andrew Cant*, and the true inheritor of his Fathers violent Spirit, was deposed by the Synod of *Aberdeen*, from his Ministry at *Bancbrrie*, for railing at the King, the Queen, and the Bishops, not long after his Majesties Restauration. He said, *The Maintaining of Bishops against Gods Will, had tried the Kings Predecessors, and if he should be so foolish as to set them up again, down he should go, do what he could.* He said, *That her Majesty was a Vagabond Woman, compassing Sea and Land to prosecute her wicked Designs, and (like a true Presbyterian Curling Aleroz) Wist the Cross, if not the Curse of God to accompany her.*

Mr. *Welsh*, as *Ravill. Rediv.* relates, page 45. in a Preambait to a Multitude of 7000. People, spoke these words, *The King, the Nobles, and the Prelates are sure the Murderers of Christ*; and then sitting down in his Chair, he said, *Oh People I will be silent, speak oh People, and tell me what good thing the King hath done since his home coming; yea, hath he not done all the mischief a Tyrant could do?* At another Conventicle not long after, he spoke thus, or to this purpose, *That God would yet assert the Cause of Pentland-hills, in spite of the Curates, and their Masters the Prelates, and in spite of the Prelates, and their Master the King, and in spite of the King, and his Master the Devil.*

This Spirit of Railing, Slandering, and Reproaching, hath always been the Gift and privilege of this People of the Lord, from their first Original to this day. For, John Knox in his *Appeal and Admonitions* Printed 1644. calls Queen *Mary Stuart*, a Wicked, Mischievous, Proud, False, Dissembling, Unconstant Woman, a breaker of Promises, a Traitoress to the Crown of *England*; and calls her Reign, a Monstriferous Empire of a wicked Woman, an Usurped Government, &c. and old Mr. *John Welsh*, Grandfather to the Villain before mentioned, in a Sermon said, That King *James* was posselt with the Devil, and compared him to a Mad Man, &c. And Mr. *Blake* in a Sermon at *St. Andrews* 1596. as *Spotswood* cites him in his 6th. Book page 423. said, *That all Kings were the Devils Bairns, That the Kings heart was Treacherous, and That the Devil was in the Court, and Guiders of it; That Queen Elizabeth was an Atheist; That the Nobles, and Lords were Miscreants, Godless, Degenerate, Dissemblers, and Enemies to the Church; That the Privy-Council were Holliglasses, Cormorants, and men of no Religion.* For all which, notwithstanding, the Kirk would not let him be questioned, because it was delivered in the Pulpit.

Accordingly, we still find how that evil Spirit haunts the holy Sect at this day, in Lying, Slandering, Reproaching, and Back-biting all that love, or defend the Church. In particular, I cannot but observe, what monstrous and malicious Lies and Calumnies they and their Patriots have for some years, almost daily raised against the Duke of *Lauderdale*, for no other reason, but because he stands as a Work of Defence between the Projectors against the Government and the King, between Presbytery and Episcopacy, Popery and the Church. And therefore we need not wonder at that Speech of King *James* (who was experimentally acquainted with the *Presbyterian* Spirit) to Dr. *Reinolds* at *Hampton Court*, who begged of his Majesty a *Presbytery*, or a Constitution very like it: *Stay I pray you for one seven Years before you demand that of me, and if you find me pursey, and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for let that Government once be up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath, and then we shall all of us have work enough, both our handfulls; but, Dr. Reinolds, till you find I grow lazy, let that alone.* *Presbytery Displayed* pag. 7. And so much for the *Lords People*.

and ought to be concerned to <sup>31</sup> speak even upon the peril of Life. It's certainly a dreadful Sin in the sight of God. I shall only desire that

31. As if they were Apostles, and the Christian, or Protestant Religion depended upon their Breath.

God may open the mouths of some of his faithful Servants, that with all <sup>32</sup> *boldness they may speak out the mind of their Master, that so the Work, Interest, Crown, and Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ may not be destroyed, and that the* <sup>33</sup> *Souls of poor People which are precious to God may not be, without a Testimony, Ruined. I shall add but 2 or 3 words more; First, all that are profane, I would exhort you seriously that ye would return to the Lord by sincere repentance; if ye do, iniquity shall not be your ruine; if not, know that the day of the* <sup>34</sup> *Lords Vengeance is near, and it hastneth on. O know for your comfort, that there is a door of mercy yet opened, if ye be not despisers of the day of Salvation: and ye that have been and yet are Reproachers and Persecutors of Godliness, and such as live Godly, take heed, take heed, sad will your day be, when* <sup>35</sup> *God ariseth to scatter his Enemies, if ye repent not of all your ungodly deeds. 2ly. All those that are Gallios, if their own private Interests prosper and go well, they care the less for the Interest of Christ, take heed, be zealous, and repent lest the Lord pass that Sentence, I will spue you out of my mouth. 3ly. As for the truly Godly, and such as are lamenting after the Lord, and are mourning for all the abominations done in the City and in the Land, and are taking pleasure* <sup>36</sup> *in the rubbish, and stones of Zion, be of good courage, and cast not away your Confidence; I dare not say any thing to future things, but surely the Lord has a* <sup>37</sup> *handful that is precious to him, whom he will be gracious to. This is a dark night, how long it may last the Lord knows. O let not all the sad disasters, that his poor People are trusted with (though very astonishing) terrifie them. Beware of Snares that abound; cleave fast to your Covenanted reformed Religion; do not shift the Cross of Christ, if ye be called into it, it's better to*

32. Impudence; See Note ( )

33. As if the Salvation of the People depended on the mouths of these Blasphemous Pseudo-Ministers.

34. Viz. By the Sword of the Lord and of Gideon; for as this People think themselves the People of God in as *peculiar a sense as the Jews were*: so, like them too, they pretend to be *Carnifices gentium*, which made them call their Standard, Christs Banner, and march with Gallows of the common Make for the common sort of the Enemies of God; but for the Nobles that durst Oppose Christ and his People, they had invented a new sort of Machine, with Hooks and Spikes, whereupon, first they intended to Hang them up, and then to set up their Quarters and Heads as Traitors and Rebels to Jesus Christ.

35. In the Old-Testament, *Jewish* sense, to scatter his Enemies by the Sword of his People.

36. The Rubbish, and Ruines of the Presbyterian-Government, upon which they strive to build the whole old Fabrick again, as the *Jews* endeavoured to Rebuild the Temple on its old Foundation in *Zion*, till Earthquakes, Fire, and Lightnings made them desist from the cursed Work.

37. An handful of Precious, Zealous, Militant Saints, of whom every single man thinks he can chase Ten of Christs Enemies, and Two put Ten thousand of them to Flight.

Suffer than to Sin; account *the 18 Re-  
proaches of Christ greater Riches than  
the Treasures of the World.* In the  
last place, let not my Death be griev-  
ous to any of you; I hope it will be  
more profitable both for you and for  
the *Church and Interest of God*, than  
my life could have been; I bless the  
Lord, I can freely and frankly forgive  
all men the guilt of it, as I desire to  
be forgiven of God. Pray for them  
that Persecute you, and bless them  
that Curse you. As for the Cross of  
Christ, I bless the Lord, I never had  
cause, nor have cause this day to re-  
pent for any thing I have Suffered,  
or can now Suffer for his name. I  
thank the Lord who has shewn mercy  
to such a vile Sinner as I am, that  
ever he should have advanced me to  
such a high dignity, as to be made a  
*39 Minister of the Blessed and Ever-  
lasting Gospel*, or that ever I should  
have a *40 Seal set to my Ministry  
upon the hearts of some in several cor-  
ners of this Land.* The Lord visit  
*Scotland* with more and more faith-  
ful Preaching, and send a reviving day  
to the Work and People of God; and  
in the mean time be patient, be sted-  
fast, immovable, always abounding in  
the Work of the Lord, and live in love  
and peace one with another, and the  
Lord be with his poor afflicted groan-  
ing People that are left behind.

Now I bid farewell to all my Friends  
and dear Relations. Farewel my poor  
Wife and Child, whom I leave on the  
good hand of him who is better than  
Seven Husbands, and who will be a  
Father to the Fatherless. Farewel all  
Created Comforts, and Welcom Ever-  
lasting life, Everlasting glory, Ever-  
lasting Love, and Everlasting  
praise; bless the Lord, O my Soul,  
and all that is within Me, praise his  
holy Name.

*John King.*

38. Consider how blasphemously this  
Text is applied.

39. He was never made a Minister, ei-  
ther immediately by God, as the Apostles  
were, or by men Commissioned from God,  
as the Episcopal Ministers are, nor by men  
not Commissioned by God, I mean by *Pres-  
byters* in a case of absolute necessity, (which  
is the only case that can justify *Presbyterian*  
Ordination;) but by men who were them-  
selves Schismatics, and Usurpers of the Mi-  
nistry, even as he himself is.

40. He calls the Delusion of so many  
poor People, in following him into the  
Hills, and from the Hills into Rebellion,  
*The Seal of his Ministry upon their hearts.*  
According to which Sense, the *Anabaptists*,  
*Quakers*, and *Missionary Jesuits*, nay *Ma-  
homet* himself, may be said to have had a  
Seal set to their Ministry upon the hearts  
of the ignorant Multitudes, whom they de-  
ceived.

Having finished my Animadversions,  
I now proceed to give a true, and brief  
Narrative of the horrid Murder of the  
late Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, as a fur-  
ther Commentary on the Whole.



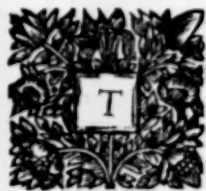
A True and Short  
**NARRATIVE**  
Of the Horrid  
**MURDER**  
Of the Reverend Father in God,  
**James, Archbishop**  
OF  
**St. Andrews,**  
Primate, and Metropolitan of all  
**SCOTLAND,**  
And one of His Majesties most Honourable  
**Privy-Council,**  
On the Third of *May* 1669.

Drawn out of the Records of the Privy-Council  
of *Scotland*, and from the Depositions of many Witnesses  
Examined upon Oath before that Honourable Board, and  
the Sheriff-Deputy of *Fife*, in which Shire the Murder was  
Committed.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed by *H. Hills*, in the Year 1680.

A True and Short  
**NARRATIVE**  
 Of the Horrid  
**MURDER**  
 Of the Reverend Father in God,  
**James, Archbishop**  
 OF  
**St. Andrews, &c.**



Here was a true Account of this Horrid Murder *Published by Authority in June, or July last 1679.* it was Printed at London for Andrew Forrester, next door to the *Miter Tavern in Kings-street Westminster,* and was drawn up by a learned Gentleman, one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council in *Scotland,* who concealed his name, as all men have reason to do, who write any thing that may offend, or provoke the *Bloody Sects.* He wrote it to correct a Scandalous and Lying Narrative, which according to the Reports that had been spread about *London* by the \* *Presbyterians* and other *Sectaries* there, related, That the Archbishop was Killed by ——— *Hackston,* whom his Grace had cast in a Suit at Law, and some of his oppressed Tenants, who Conspired together out of private Revenge, to take away his Life.

\* In particular by Dr. J. and Dr. B.

But because many notable Particulars relating to this Murder are come to light since the *True Account* of it was Printed; I hope I shall do Service both to the Publick, and the Memory of that great Man, in giving a more full, and exact Narrative of the Assassination of his *Sacred Person,* which, excepting the Solemn *Paricide* committed on the most Sacred Person of our late most *Gracious Sovereign,* will perhaps appear to be as Barbarous a Murder, as ever was committed upon a meet Man.

My Narrative will consist of three Parts; whereof the first shall be a plain Relation of the *Matter of Fact,* without any Rhetorical Exaggerations, which serve for nothing but to render the Historian suspected, and misbecome the simplicity of the Historical Style. Secondly, I will shew out of the *Presbyterian* Writers, the *Bloody Principles* upon which this Murder was committed: and in the Conclusion I shall shew by

what steps, and degrees of Cruelty and Sedition they arrived at such a desperate undertaking as this Murder was, and the Rebellion which immediately followed thereupon.

I shall begin the first part with telling the Reader, That the Archbishop had been attending his Majesties Service in the Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*; from whence he went over into *Fife* in the Afternoon, on the Second of *May* 1679. That Night he Lodged at Captain *Seatons* House in a Village called *Kennoway*, which is in the midway betwixt *Bruntisland* and *St. Andrews*. About Midnight, as the People of the Town report, two Men well Mounted and Armed, came thither to enquire if the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was Lodged at Captain *Seatons*; and as soon as they were informed that he was, they presently Rode out of the Town again. The next morning being the Third of *May*, several Parties of Horsemen were seen to traverse the Road betwixt *Kennoway* and *St. Andrews*, who doubtless were the Assassins, who watched for an opportunity to effect the Murder, which they had long designed. But the Lord Primate, who was a Man of great Natural Courage, and whom so many Deliverances, for almost Twenty Years, from the hands of those Bloody Zealots, had now brought to an entire Confidence in Gods Protection, took Coach about Nine of the Clock, without any presage or apprehension of Danger. He had none but his Elder Daughter to Ride with him in the Coach, and only three Servants on Horseback to attend him; one of whom he had sent before he was Assaulted, to pay his Respects to a Person of Honour, by whose House he passed on his Road. He advanced in his Journey in great security, till he came to a little Countrey-Village called *Magus*, two Miles distant from *St. Andrews*, betwixt an Eleven and Twelve of the Clock in the Forenoon. There he first perceived himself to be pursued by an Eleven or Twelve Men barefaced, well Mounted, with Pistols Cocked in their Hands, and drawn Swords hanging in Strings from their Arms. As soon as he spied them, he bid his Coachman Drive as fast, as his Horses could Gallop, but alas too late! for the Assassins furiously pursued him, and in their Pursuit Shot at him several times in the Coach, running as fast as Six good Horses could draw it. The Coachman (who discovered the Villains before his Lord, and had thereupon begged leave of him, but was not permitted to Gallop away) had certainly outdriven them, if one *Balfour* of *Kinlock*, Mounted on a very fleet Bay Horse, had not overtaken them; who not daring to Attack the Coachman, because his Whip did fright his spritely Horse, rode up to the Postilion, whom he wounded with his Sword in the Face, Shot one of the foremost Coach-Horses, Ham-stringed the other, and so stopped the Coach. By that time this was done, the rest of the Murderers came up, and one of them Fired a Pistol, or a Blunderbuss so near his Breast, that his Daughter rubbed off the burning which stuck to his Gown. Then they called to him by the name of *Dog, Villain, Apostat, Persecuter of the Godly, Betrayer of Jesus Christ and his Church*, and bid him come out of the Coach to receive what he deserved for his wickedness against the Kirk of Scotland. Upon this his Daughter got out of the Coach, and fell on her knees, begging her Fathers Life; but they regarding neither her Prayers nor Tears, threw her down several times upon the ground, trampled upon her, and wounded her; which her tender-hearted Father seeing, after much reproachful language and many threatnings, came meekly out of the Coach, and with



with calmness said unto them, *Gentlemen, I know not that I ever injured any of you, or if I did, I am ready to make you reparation; and therefore I beseech you to spare my life, and I promise I will never pursue you for this Violence, and I pray you consider before you bring the guilt of Innocent Blood upon your selves.* The reverence of his Presence, and his undaunted courage in addressing himself so resolutely, and gravely unto them, surprised them, and made them stand a little while, as it were unresolved what to do; and one of them relenting, cryed to the rest, *Spare these Grey Hairs: but their cruel Zeal overcoming their natural Pity and Justice,* paused not long before they replied, *He must dye, he must dye;* and then again calling him *Traiterous Villain, Judas, Betrayer of the Interest of Christ, Enemy to God and his People,* said unto him, *Thou shalt now receive the reward of thy Apostacy, and Enmity to the People of God.* Then seeing them determined to take away his Life, he begged a little while to Pray, telling them, *He would pray for them;* but they scornfully told him, *That they cared not for his Prayers, being sure that God would not hear so base a dog, as he was.* Then looking stedfastly upon one of the Assassins, whom he seemed to know, he kneeled down before him, and said unto him, *Sir, You are a Gentleman, and I must beg my last favour from you, That since you are resolved that I must dye, you would have pity upon my poor Child here, and spare her Life, and for this, Sir, give me your hand.* And thereupon stretching his hand towards the cruel man, he had for a return a very great blow with a Shable, which almost quite cut off his hand, and the Villain redoubling his Stroak, gave him another violent Wound upon the left Eye, which cut him two Inches above it, and one below. This Stroak knocked him down, but getting upon his knees again, he said, *Gentlemen, it is now enough, you have done your Work,* and holding up his hands (as well as he could) to Heaven, he fervently cryed out, *Lord Jesus! have mercy on my Soul, and receive my Spirit.* While he was in this posture of Devotion, they wounded him in his hands, which he held up to Heaven, and in other parts of his Body, till in a kind of composure he laid down his head upon his arm, saying, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all.* These were the last words which he uttered, like an excellent Christian; after which they gave him no less than sixteen Wounds on his Head, insomuch that it seemed to be all one Wound: and pieces of his shattered Scull, and Brains were some days after found on the ground, that unhallowed *Golgotha*, where he was Slain. Having thus hacket, and cleft his Head, some of them as they were going away thought they heard him groan, which made them go back, and to make sure work, stir about his Brains in the Scull with the points of their Swords. Having finished their long desired Murder, they made his Servants solemnly Swear not to discover them, and then bad them in derision *take up their Priest;* and having said so, Rode back to *Magus*, where they first assaulted the Coach, and one of them, by name *John Balfour of Kinlock*, as he passed by that Town, was heard to say very audibly, and distinctly, *That now Judas was killed.*

What I have here written concerning the manner of this execrable Murder of the *Primate*, his devout behaviour towards God, and his meek carriage towards his Murderers, and the several mild Expressions in which he addressed himself unto them, and the most rude unchristian language in which they replied, is taken from the Information of the young Lady, who

who Rode with him in the Coach, and the Depositions of his Graces Servants, whose Examinations were taken upon Oath before the Privy-Council, in whose Registers they may be seen. And as for the savage manner in which they did wound him, I shall here set down, for the proof thereof, the Certificate of a Doctor of Physick, and three Chirurgeons, who by order from the Privy-Council did view, and embalm his Body.

**W**E underscribers being called to visit the Corps of the late Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, do find, That he had received a Wound by a Sword over the left Eye, extending two Inches above, and one below, making a great Suffusion of Blood upon the Cheek, and upper and lower Eye-lid. Next we found many Wounds upon the Posterior part of his Head, insomuch that the whole Occipital bone was shattered all in pieces, and a part of the Brain lost thereby upon the place, which certainly being so great, could not but occasion his present Death. There were only two Wounds to be seen upon the Body, the first two or three Inches below the right Clavicle, betwixt the second and third Rib, which was given by a Shot not reaching the capacity of the Breast. The next was a small Wound upon the Region of the Kidneys, given by a small Sword. Likewise we found three Wounds upon his left hand, which might have proved mortal, though he had escaped the former. Also another upon the right hand as dangerous as the former: as Witness our Hands, at St. Andrews the Fifth day of May 1679.

Sic Subscribitur.

George Petullo M. D.  
William Borthwick Chir.  
Henry Spense Chir.  
Ja. Pringle Chir.

I desire the Reader here to observe, That the *Archbishops* Body was pierced by a Shot, betwixt the second and third Rib, which the Author of the *False Narrative* did industriously deny; and for the truth of his Assertion, impudently appealed to *William Borthwick*, one of the three Chirurgeons, who subscribed the Certificate above written. The reason why that malicious man had a mind to make the world believe, That the Bullets did not pierce the *Archbishops* Body, was to insinuate to the People, that he was *Shot-free*, and by consequence had that privilege from the Devil, or at least had recourse for his security against Bullets, to Magical Talismans, and Charms.

The Privy-Council had no sooner received the news of this horrid Murder, but they proceeded with all imaginable care and diligence to dis-  
semination of the *Archbishops* Ser-  
out the following Proclama-  
own.

A P R O-

# A PROCLAMATION Ordered by His Majesties Privy-Council of Scotland, upon the Horrid Murder of JAMES late Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate and Metropolitan of all Scotland, and one of his Majesties Most Honourable Privy-Council of that Kingdom.

At Edenburgh, Sunday the Fourth of May, 1679.

**C**HARLES By the Grace of GOD, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our Lyon King at Arms, and his Brethren Heraulds, Macers, or Messengers at Arms, Our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, Greeting: We being fully and by legal Proofs assured of the late Horrid and Bloody Murther committed upon Saturday last, being the Third Day of May instant, by Ten or Eleven Fanatick and Execrable Assassins, upon the Person of the most Reverend Father in GOD, JAMES late Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of all Scotland; which Barbarous and Inhumane Assassination will (we doubt not) spread Harrou and Amazement in the Hearts of such as believe that there is a GOD, or a Christian Religion; A Cruelty exceeding the Barbarity of Pagans and Heathens, amongst whom the Officers and Ministers of Religion are reputed to be Sacred, and are by the respect born to a Deity whom they Adore, secured against all such Bloody and Execrable Attempts; A Cruelty exceeding the belief of all true Protestants, whose Churches have justly Stigmatized with the Marks of Impiety all such as defile with Blood those Hands which they ought to hold up to Heaven; and a Cruelty equal to any with which we can reproach the Enemies of this True and Reformed Church! By which also not only the Principles of Humane Society, but our Authority and Government (the Archbishop of St. Andrews being one of Our Privy-Council) is highly violated, and Example and Incouragement given for Murthering all such as serve Us faithfully according to the Prescript of Our Laws and Royal Commands: Daily Instances whereof We are to expect whilst Field-Conventicles, those Rendezvous of Rebellion, and Forgers of all Bloody and Jesuitical Principles, are so frequented and followed, to the scandal of all Government and the Contempt of Our Laws; and which Murther is, as far as is possible, rendered yet more detestable by the unmasked Boldness of such as durst openly with bare Faces in the midst of Our Kingdom, at Mid-day assemble themselves together, to Kill in Our High-Way the Primate of Our Kingdom, and one of Our Privy-Council, by so many Stroakes and Shots, as left his Body as it were but one Wound, and many of which being given after they knew he was Dead, were remarkable Proofs they were acted by a Spirit of Hellish and Insatiable Cruelty:

Have therefore, with Advice of Our Privy-Council, thought fit hereby to Command and Charge all Sheriffs, Stewards, Bayliffs of Regalities and Bayliaries, and their Deputies, Magistrates of Burghs, and Officers of

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Our



Our Standing Forces, to Search, Seek, Take, and Apprehend the Persons Guilty of the said Horrid Murder, or any suspected by them, until they be brought to Justice; and all Our good and faithful Subjects to concur in the Taking and Securing (as far as is in their power) those Assassins. And in respect there is a Company of vagrant and skulking Ruffians, who, to the great Contempt of all Government, do Ride through this Our Kingdom, Killing Our Soldiers, Deforcing such as put Our Laws in Execution, and Committing such Horrible Murders, who might be easily Discovered, if all such, amongst whom they converse, did, according to their Duty, endeavour to Apprehend them, or give Notice of their Residence: We have therefore thought fit, Conform to the 144 Act of Parliament 12, King James 6. to Command and Charge all Our Subjects, that whenever any unknown Men or Vagabonds happen to repair amongst them, That they with all possible Speed Certifie any of Our Privy-Council, Officers of Our Forces, or any having Trust under Us, thereof; With Certification to them, That if they omit the same, they shall be punished with all Rigor, Conform to the said Act. And since several of the said Assassins are known to have been Tenants in the Shire of Fife, whose Faces will be known to such of the Witnesses as were present; We hereby Require and Command all the Heritors and Masters of the said Shire of Fife and Kinross, to bring their Tenants, Cottars and Servants, living in the respective Presbyteries, upon the several days, and to the places following, viz. To St. Andrews, &c. There to be seen by the said Witnesses, and to continue there until they be Examined; With Certification to such of the said Tenants, Cottars and Servants as shall be absent, they shall be reputed as accessory to the said Crime; And the Masters, if they produce them not, or if hereafter they harbour any that shall not Compeer, they shall be reputed as Favourers of the said Assassination. And whereas there are several Persons under Caption and Intercommuning in the said Shire for several Causes, and lest Persons, who are innocent, may be thereby debarred from appearing, We have thought fit hereby to sist and supersede all Execution upon any Letters of Caption or Intercommuning, or any other Warrant, for securing of Persons for the space of Forty eight hours, after the said Diets of appearance. And to the end the said cruel Murther may be the more easily discovered, We do hereby offer and give full assurance of Our Indemnity to any one of the said Assassins, who shall discover his Complices, and such as bounded them out, and present payment of the Sum of Ten Thousand Merks to any who shall inform who were the said Assassins, if upon his Information they, or any of them can be Apprehended, that they may be brought to condign Punishment. And We Ordain these Presents to be Printed and Published at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh, and other Places needful.

Given under Our Signet at Edinburgh, the Fourth Day of May 1679.  
and of Our Reign the One and Thirtieth Year.

GOD save the KING.

But though this Proclamation Printed at *Edenburgh* by Authority, and Reprinted at *London*, was sufficient to convince the World of what Principles, and Sect the *Lord Primates* Murtherers were, yet the Patrons, and Favourers of the *Scottish-Presbyterians* at *London*, had the Confidence to give this *Publick Act* the Lye, and say, ( as indeed they dare take the Confidence to say any thing ) That it was drawn up at *Whitehall* by the *Duke of Lauderdale*, and sent by him to the *Privy-Council* of *Scotland*, who will Publish any thing which he shall order, and in any Form which he shall prescribe.

After the issuing out of this Proclamation, the *Privy-Council* were very diligent in Examining the Inhabitants of *Magus*, and many others upon Oath, whose Depositions are extant in the Registers of the *Privy-Council*; and very many were Examined also in the *Sheriff-Court* of *Fiffe*, according to the tenure of this Proclamation, and their Examinations are kept in the Records of that Court: From whence it was made apparent, that the Bloody Assassins, and many others who were strongly presumed to have been Abettors, and Contrivers of the Murder, were notorious Fanaticks, Frequenters of Field-Conventicles, and Followers of *Mr. Welsh* and other Traiterous, Intercommuned, and Rebellious Preachers. Nine of the Actors in this Tragedy were discovered by their Names and Surnames, which, as it is fitting to set forth the horror of such a Murder, I shall here set down in Letters of Blood.

John Balfour of *Kinloch*, David Hackston of *Ratbillet*, George Balfour in *Gilston*, James Russell in *Kings-kettle*, Robert Dingwall a Farmers Son in *Caddam*, Andrew Guillian Weaver in *Balmerinloch*, Alexander Henderson and Andrew Henderson, Sons to John Henderson in *Kilbrackmont*, George Fleming, Son to George Fleming in *Balbutby*.

*The Names of  
the Murderers.*

The Depositions of the Witnesses, who upon Oath proved these Persons to have been Actors in the Archbishops Murder, ly upon Record as above-said, to satisfy any, who perhaps may doubt of the truth of what is here said; more particularly it was deposed by one James Anderson Farmer, at a Farm called *Teuchits*, That George Balfour abovementioned, came after the Murder to his Brothers House at *Gilston*, and told him it was done, and that the rest (of the Murderers) waited for him on *Taces-Moor*; and that he having returned to them, they went all Nine, and possessed themselves of the Barn at *Teuchits* about Three in the Afternoon, from whence they parted about Seven, when all of them spoke with the said James Anderson, who knew them all particularly, and named them, as they are abovementioned.

Thus far the Discovery was made, when the late Rebellion broke out on the Twenty ninth of *May*, which forced the *Privy-Council* to desist from their vigorous pursuit of the Murderers, and apply themselves to the Suppression of that Insurrection, which carried with it the fate of the three Kingdoms, and would have certainly very much shaken the Government, if the Rebels had got the first Victory, or could but have maintained their ground. But they were no sooner Beaten, and the Kingdom Resetled, but the *Privy-Council* resumed their care in pursuing the Discovered Murderers of the *Lord Primate*, (who also had all taken Arms in the Rebellion) and issued out this following Proclamation the Twentieth of *September* following, for the Apprehension of them.

# A PROCLAMATION Anent the Murtherers of the late Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and appointing Magistrates and Councils of Burghs Royal to Sign the Declaration at *Michaelmas* next.

**C**HARLES, *by the Grace of GOD King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; To Our Lovits*  
*Heralds, Macers, Pursevants, or Messengers at Arms, Our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, Greeting: We taking to Our Consideration how much the Protestant Religion, and the Honour of this Our Ancient Kingdom are stained by that Barbarous and Horrid Assassination and Murther of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews; whereof We have by several Proclamations expressed Our Abhorrency, and prohibited the reset of these Murtherers whom We have excepted from Our late Gracious Pardon and Indemnity: And albeit it was the Duty (not only of those in Authority under Us) but of all Our Subjects, to use their endeavours for discovering and bringing to Justice these execrable Persons, Enemies to all Humane Society; yet We understand, that these Murtherers, and likewise divers Heritors and Ministers who were engaged in the late Rebellion, and are excepted from Our Indemnity, have been harboured and reset in some places of this Kingdom, to the great Reproach of the Nation, and Contempt of Our Authority and Laws: Therefore, We with advice of Our Privy-Council, do Command and Charge all Sheriffs, Stewarts, Bayliffs of Regalities, and Baylieries, and their Deputes, Magistrates of Burghs, and others in Authority under Us, to Search for, Seek, Take, and Apprehend the Persons afternamed, viz. John Balfour of Kinlock, David Haxstoun of Rathillet, George Balfour in Gilstoun, James Russel in Kettle, Robert Dingwal, a Tenents Son in Caddam, Andrew Guilan Webster in Balmerinoch, Alexander and Andrew Henderfons, Sons to John Henderfons in Kilbrachmont, and George Fleming Son to George Fleming in Balbuthy, who did perpetrate and commit the said horrid Murther; and also, any Heritors and Ministers who were in the late Rebellion, and any Persons who have Reset and Harboured these Murtherers and Rebels, wherever they can be found within the Bounds of their respective Jurisdictions, and put them in sure Ward and Firmance, until they be brought to Justice: And in case these Persons flee out of the Shire, That they give notice thereof to the Sheriff, or other Magistrate of the next Shire or Jurisdiction, that they may in like manner Search for, Apprehend and Secure them until they be brought to Justice; With Power to the Sheriffs, and other Magistrates aforesaid, if they shall find cause, to call to their Assistance Our Subjects within their Jurisdiction, or such a number of them as they shall think fit, who are hereby Required to Concur with, and Assist them, under all highest Pain and Charge. And We expect, That the Sheriffs and other Magistrates aforesaid, will use exact diligence in the Premises, as they will be answerable on their highest Peril. And seeing by the Fifth Act of the Second Session, and the second Act of the third Session of Our first Parliament, The Magistrates and Councils of Burghs are Ordained*  
at



at and before their Admissions to the exercise of their Offices, to Sign the Declaration appointed to be Signed by all Persons in Publick Trust, under the Certifications therein exprest. Therefore, We with Advice aforesaid, do Command and Require the Magistrates and Councils of the respective Burghs of this Kingdom, who shall be chosen at the next ensuing Elections, to Sign the foresaid Declaration, as is prescribed in the said Acts, and to return the Declarations so Signed by them to the Clerks of Our Privy-Council, betwixt and the third Thursday of November next; certifying such as shall not give Obedience, that they shall be proceeded against, and censured conform to the said Acts of Parliament. Our Will is Herefore, and We Charge you strictly, and Command, that incontinent, these Our Letters seen, ye pass to the Market-Cross of Edinburgh, and remanent Market-Crosses of the Head Burghs of the several Shires of this Kingdom, and other places needful, and there by open Proclamation, make publication of the Premises, that none may pretend ignorance of the same. And We Ordain these presents to be Printed.

Given under Our Signet at *Edinburgh* the Twentieth Day of *September*, 1679. And of Our Rign the Thirty one Year.

*Will. Paterfon, Cl. Sri. Concilii.*

## G O D save the K I N G.

But by this time the Murderers, and Rebels had fled the Kingdom, notwithstanding all imaginable care and diligence to prevent their Escape; and while the *Covenanting-Army*, as the Rebels Styled themselves, lay at *Glasgow*, one of the *Balfours*, as a very creditable Gentleman, who was then in the Town, told me, openly boasted of the Murder as a glorious Fact, and said, holding up his Arm, *This hand helped to kill the Fox*. And it hath been already Published to the World, That five of their Accomplices, Complotters, and Abettors of the Murder, chose to Dye, and be hung up in Chains upon the place, rather than confess the sinfulness of the Action, by acknowledging it was Murder, or a Sin. The Fanatical Party foretold it in several places; and the Morning before it was committed, one of the Assassins, like a Jesuit Consecrated to an Heroical Act, after a solemn Sacrilegious Form of Devotion, held up his hand, and Swore, *That that hand should kill the Arch-Prelate*, upon which the holy Sister, his Hostess, kissed him; and it is notoriously known in *Scotland*, that he, who commanded the Foot for Mr. *Welsh* upon *Reupar-Law*, (that famous Field-Conventicle) owned that their Friends thanked God for the Archbishops Death, which neither they, nor their Abbettors in either Kingdom will call Murder, when they have occasion to speak thereof.

Having absolved my first part, I proceed to shew out of the *Presbyterian* Writings, the Principles, upon which they ground this bloody Practice of Assassination; in performing of which, I must go up as high as the Murder of Cardinal *Beton* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who was Assas-

fin'd by private Gentlemen, as the late Lord Primate was, only with this difference, that the *Cardinal* was Murdered in his own Palace, the Castle of *St. Andrews*, and the Primate in the open Field. The names of his Murderers were *Norman Lesly*, *John Lesly*, *Peter Carmichael*, and *James Melvil*, who with Sixteen or Seventeen more seized the Castle, and when they had entered the Cardinals Chamber, *Lesly* and *Carmichael* fell violently upon him, but *James Melvil* with-held them, and said, *This Work and Judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with great gravity.* And upon these words, presenting unto him the point of his Sword, said, *Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially*

\* The first  
Martyr of Scot-  
land.

*of the shedding of the blood of that notable Instrument of God,\* Mr. James Wiseheart, which albeit the flame of Fire consumed before men, yet cries it Vengeance against thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it: for here before my God I protest, That neither the hatred of thy Person, nor love of thy Riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldest have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to Strike thee, but only because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate Enemy against Christ Jesus, and his holy Gospel. And the meek Man of God (as Knox calls him) having so spoken, Struck the Cardinal twice or thrice with a Stog-Sword, although he cried out pitifully for mercy, saying, I am a Priest, you will not Slay a Priest; and though he exhorted him to Repentance, yet he allowed him no more time for it than was spent in his Grave and Godly Harangue. I have taken this Relation out of Knoxes History, to which I refer the Reader, Pages 143, 144, 145. or to the 28th. page of Presbytery Displayed, where it is also related in this manner: And from the whole it is apparent, that Melvil committed this Murder, Gravely, Deliberately, and in Cold Blood, declaring, That he was sent from God to do it, not for any private end, but to revenge the blood of Mr. Wiseheart, and because he was an Enemy to Jesus Christ and his Gospel. Knox commends this direful Action of Mr. James Melvil, for a Godly Fact; and so the bloody Field-Presbyterians have applauded the Nine Murderers of the late Lord Primate, and will doubtless Canonize them, as they did Mitchel, who attempted to Assassinate him Eleven Years before.*

\* Tyranny and  
Popery, p. 27.

And \* Goodman, Knoxes his Companion, whom I cited before, page 30. saith, *That all men are bound to see the Laws of God kept, and to suppress and resist Idolatry by force: Nor is it sufficient for Subjects, not to obey the wicked Commands of Princes, but they must resist them, and deliver the Children of God out of the hands of their Enemies, as we would deliver a Sheep that is in danger to be devoured by a Wolf. And if the Magistrate shall refuse to put Mass-mongers and False Preachers (and now all Bishops and Church-Ministers in their esteem are such) to Death, the People in seeing it performed, shew that Zeal of God which was commended in Phineas.*

*Gilby Sings to the same Tune, and saith, That Kings, Princes, and Governors have their Authority from the People, and upon occasion the People may take it away again, as men may revoke their Proxies and Letters of Attorney. It is lawful (says he) to kill wicked Kings and Tyrants. The Subjects did kill the Queens Highness Athalia, Jehu killed the Queens Majesty Jezebel: Elias being no Magistrate, killed the Queens Majesties Chaplains, Baals Priests.*

*John Knox* in his debate with *Lithington*, *Hist. of Reformation*, pag. 390. Justifies the killing of Tyrannical Princes, and men in publick places by private persons, from the example of *Phineas*, whom he asserts to have been a private person, and tells us; *He had not only a large Reward for his fact*, Numb. 25. 12, 13. *but an ample approbation for it*, Psal. 106. 31. *So that it was accounted to him for Righteousness*, i. e. as a *Righteous action*; and affirms, *That it is to be imitated by all those, who prefer the true Honour of the true Worship and Glory of God, to the affection of fleshly and wicked Princes*; nay he says, *That his example approved by God, stands to us instead of a Commandment*; for as God in his nature is constant and immutable, so can he not condemn in the ages subsequent, that which he hath approved in his servants before us.

*Naphtali* justifies the Rebellion at *Pentland-hills* 1666. from the same example of *Phineas*, and Blasphemously ascribes it to the holy Spirit of God, asserting that the Rebels were no more to be condemned as Traytors, than *Phineas* ought to have been for a Murderer, seeing they were led by the same Spirit, and had as good warrant as he. See pag. 21. 22, 23, 24, &c. This Doctrine, and both *John Knox*, and the Author of *Naphtali* the maintainers of it, are industriously defended, and vindicated by the Author of *Jus populi vindicatum*. cap. 20. from pag. 409. to pag. 426. And upon this principle it was that Mr *Mitchel* acted, when he attempted to Assassinate the Lord Primate. An. 1668. *Ravillac Redivivus*. pag. 18. 19. And though he failed in his Attempt, as the Rebels before him had done in theirs, (which never any person or persons did, or could do, that were moved by God to do an *Heroical Act*;) yet still he believed that the irresistible Diabolical impulse, which he felt in himself, came from God: exactly according to the Doctrine of the *Jesuites*, who in the *Apology for John Chastel* assert, that an Act is nevertheless *Heroical*, although the undertaker fail in the Attempt. The Title of the Book is, *Apologie pour Jehan Chastel Parisien & les Peres, & Escholiers de la société de Jesus, &c. contre l' Arrest de Parlement donné contre eux a Paris le 29 Decembre 1594. L'an 1595*. It consists of 5 parts, and the 11 ch. of the third, bears this Title, *L'acte ne laisse d' estre heroique, quoy que l'entreprise ne vienne à Chef*. *Jus populi vindicatum*, and *Naphtali* are the Pocket-books of the Field-Conventiclers, and the common people read the latter especially, as much as the Bible, or asmuch as the common people of the Church-Communion read formerly the *Practice of Piety*, or now *The whole Duty of man*. I know a *Scottish Gentleman* an Officer, who meeting with a single Country-Fellow going to a Conventicle, examined and searched him, and in one of his Pockets found *Naphtali*, and the other a *Pocket-Pistol* charged with two Bullets, the Doctrine, as the Gentleman ingeniously, said in one Pocket, and the Use in the other; and as I have been Credibly informed, that Curfed Book was found about most of those who were slain at *Bothwell-Bridge*.

Thus have we found out the damnable principle upon which the *Jesuited Presbyterians* found their practices of *Massacres*, and *Assassinations*. When the Magistrate will not put to death the enemies of Christ, his Gospel, his People, or of the Kirk, private persons may do it, by the example of *Phineas*, nay, they ought to do it, without hesitation when they feel themselves moved thereunto. But if the Magistrates themselves be such, then any other person not in Office may, and ought to rise up to do Justice upon them, (the King not excepted)

after



after the example of *Phineas*, that the Wrath going out may be stayed, and the judgments of God averted from the Land. And notwithstanding this Doctrine (saith the Author of *Jus populi* pag. 412) *All persons have sufficient security of their lives, except such as are guilty of dreadfull Apostacy (with which they charge all that have renounced the Covenant, or that took it and do not keep it; in particular the King, and the late Lord Primate) causing the Plague of God to break out upon the Land, and pag. 414. To prevent all these fears, let his Majesty, and other Magistrates Reform their ways, and turn to the Lord, and execute judgment on him (the Bishop) and his accomplices, and all the rest who now pretend to honour the King, and to fear God; but in effect do Deifie a Creature, and renounce their homage to the King of Kings, and so provoke him to destroy both them, and their King by their Apostacy and wicked defection, and that openly before men, and Angels, as David hanged up the sons of Saul before the Sun, and then they need not fear either Dag, or Dagger, Pistol, or poisoned poinyard, a Spanish-fig, or any such secret applications. Again pag. 415. he infers, That the fact of Phineas was a laudable act of Justice, and a precedent for Judges, and Magistrates in all times coming, and that by his example any member of the Counsel (for Phineas rose from among the Congregation) might lawfully rise up and execute judgment on this wicked wretch (the Archbishop) and his Cursed Fraternity, who have brought by their Apostacy and defection from the Covenant, and cause of God, the wrath, and curse of God upon the Land.*

Hence all the Kirk-Writers since his Majesties return, such as *Naphtali, Jus populi, The Apology, and Apologetical Narration, The Poor Mans Cup, The History of the Indulgence, &c.* call the Bishops *Apostates, Perjured Prelates, A perjured Fraternity, Traytors to Christ, Enemies to his people, Idolaters, Backsliders, &c.* So that whosoever shall like *Phineas* rise up and do Justice upon them, shall do a laudable act, such as shall be accounted unto them for Righteousness, and have the approbation of God. Hence *Mitchel* in his answer to the *Dean of Edingburgh*, saith confidently, that he refers the Manifestation of his Fact to the day of Gods Righteous judgment, *Rav. Red. pag. 18.* and in his shorter Speech pag. 19. he declared, That he laid down his life willingly in opposition to the perfidious Prelates, and in testimony of the Cause of Christ. And in his larger Speech, wherein he declares, that the King and Estates, and every single man is bound to endeavour to extirpate the perjured Prelates, and abjured Prelacy by force of arms; and threatens them all, with the furbished Sword of the Lords indignation for not executing vengeance upon them; he saith most Blasphemously, *That blessed are all they who take the proud Prelates and dash their brains against the stones.*

But it is not the Bishops only, whom they think it laudable to Murder singly, or Massacre in Companies, if they could, but all that own their Authority, as the Church-Ministers, and all that any ways Protect and Support the Church and Clergy; from the King himself upon the Throne, to the meanest Officer Civil or Military, who faithfully executes his Laws and Commands. And yet as bloody as you see these Field-Sectaries are by their Principles, some Discontented Persons of great Quality, whom out of respect I shall not name, had so little Conscience, and sence of Honour, and so much Confidence, as to report, That they were a *Poor, Innocent, and Peaceable sort of People, who only desired to serve God*

God according to their own Consciences, and were neither able, nor inclined to commit such Outrages, and make such Disturbances at their Conventicles, as was here reported they did. And therefore, for a further illustration of their bloody Principles and Practises, I proceed in the last place to shew by what Steps and Gradations of Sedition and Cruelty they arrived at length to Murder the Archbishop, and shortly after Rebel; for this damnable Doctrine of \* *Heroical impulse* hath poisoned the whole Sect, and instigated them to many other Inhumane Butcheries and lesser Rebellions, before they imbrued their hands in the Primates sacred Blood.

For shortly after, they began to Conventicle in such formidable numbers, and in such an Hostile manner in the Fields, upon the Duke of *Lauderdale* going down in June 1677. they openly threatned the Archbishops and other Bishops, and such of the Kings Ministers, as they thought were most vigorous in putting the Laws in Execution against them. This gave occasion to the Privy-Council to order the Tryal of Mr. *James Mitchel*, that the rest by his Punishment might be deterred from Practising upon others *Heroical Attempts*. As soon as his Tryal was ordered, the *Fanaticks* threatned more than before; and knowing that Sir *George Mackenzy* his Majesties Advocate, was bound by his Office to Prosecute him, they sent him nameless Letters, to tell him, That if he pursued Mr. *James Mitchel*, it should cost him his Life, which it undoubtedly will, if ever he fall into their hands.

While the Miscreants Tryal was depending, (for it lasted four days) there were Letters also sent to the Archbishop, (for attempting of whose Life he was tryed) threatening him, That if Mr. *James* were put to Death, it should certainly cost him his Life, which I believe might be one reason, why his Grace afterwards in Council endeavoured to procure his Reprieve.

A little after his Execution it was, That to prevent the Rising of the *Fanaticks* in the West, the *Highlanders* by the Advice of the Privy-Council, (as the *Marquess of Athol* had first proposed) and by his Majesties express Authority, marched under the Conduct of their respective Lords, with the Standing Forces into that Countrey, after the *Heritors* in a meeting had sent word to the Council, That they could not undertake for the Peace. While they Quartered there, (which was not above two Months) the cruel *Fanaticks* lay in wait upon all occasions for their blood, which made them, that they durst not walk abroad, but in such numbers, as might secure their Lives. After they had leave to return home, they marched not together as an Army, but travelled in Companies as they thought fit, and a small Party of them going Peaceably on the Road, somewhere about *Sterling*, were set upon by a band of bloody *Phineases*, who killed some of them, and wounded more.

The Summer ensuing, his Majesty called a Convention of the *Three Estates*, who gave him Five Months Tax for five Years following, to maintain a Regiment of Foot, three Troops of Horse, and three Companies of Dragoons, which was to be added to the other Standing Forces, for the more effectual Suppressing of *Field-Conventicles*. These Forces being raised, and distributed into their Quarters, the *Fanaticks* watched them as Ravenous Birds, or Beasts watch their Prey, endeavouring to surprize them by night in their Quarters, or at any other time, when their security or security made them unable to defend themselves. Particularly in April.

\* The only remedy against Tyrants is E-huds Dagger; to which, as the Supreme Court of Justice, Moses brought the Egyptians; Phineas, Zimri and Cosby; Ehud, Eglon; Samson, the Philistines; Saul, Agag; and Jehoadab, Athalia; Buchanan de jure regni.

last 1679. a Company of them came upon a very small Party of Soldiers Quartered in or near *Maclin* about Midnight, or early in the Morning on the *Lords day*, and most barbarously Massacred them in their Lodgings. The Assassins when they came to the door knocked as Friends, and kindly asked for the poor Soldiers, as Camrades are wont to ask for one another. And they not thinking of any harm got up, and opened the Door, which was no sooner done, but without speaking one word, they Shot one of them dead through the belly, and wounded the rest so mortally, that they left them for dead. Nevertheless, as it is credibly reported, these Heroical Butchers went straight away to a *Field-Meeting*, where they partook of the *Sacrament of the Lords-Supper*, if I may call that a *Sacrament*, which such utter Usurpers of the Priests-Office Sacrilegiously Administer, and Schismatics, and Rebels take.

And about *March* last 1679. Twenty six or Twenty seven of these Heroical Pseudo-Zealots having met Armed in a private Lodging, at the further end of a remote Lane in *Edinburgh*, sent a Messenger, who was of the Conspiracy, to tell the *Town-Major*, who was always diligent in his Office, and faithful to his Trust That there was a Conventicle in such a place. The Major with three or four men, whom he called to his Assistance, went immediately upon the Information to the foresaid House, where the Inspired Heroes, after many Shots from both ends of the Room into which they had trapand the Major, fell upon the Major in particular, whom having wounded, as they thought beyond all possibility of recovery, they left for dead, and made their escape. One of the Assistants they Shot dead through the Reins, and bruised and wounded the rest. While they beat and wounded the Town-Major, they called him *Enemy to Christ, Instrument of Satan, &c.* and urged him to Swear that he would never disturb their Meetings, or seize any Person at them again, and protested withal unto him, That *not any private Quarrel moved them to kill him, but because his Employment was to discover their Meetings, and execute the Tyrannical, and Antichristian Laws against them.* The House wherein this Riot was committed, was kept by an holy Sister, a noted *Fanatick*, who frequently entertained the Rebellious intercommuned Preachers, and such like *Enthusiastical* Cut-throats as these. She is Sister in Law to one *Andrew Turnbull* in *Broomhall*, one noted among a Club of Assassins, who combine to Murder his Majesties Officers; and, as many Witnesses examined upon Oath before the *Privy-Council* May the Fifth 1677. declared, he and his Son were two of those, who rescued two Fanatical Criminals from a Serjeant, and four Militia Soldiers, in which rebellious action they discharged several Pistols at them, and wounded them with Swords as well as Shot, calling them *Dogs, &c.* and telling them, that those whom they served were Devils, and deserved to be worse used than they. But to return to the Story of the Major: The day of the Week, in which this Massacre was acted, was *Tuesday*, and the *Sunday* before, Mr. *Cameron* that famous Field-Preacher, Preached twice in the same House, where were present most of the Murderers, as, by Examination of several Witnesses before the *Privy-Council*, it afterwards appeared.

I have passed by many other Stories of this nature, as that of the bloody attempt which they made upon the Ensign and Soldiers of the *Bass*, at a Conventicle near *Dumbar* in Summer 1678. whereof some being afterwards Apprehended, were tried, and one was put to death.

But



But they were never moved with stronger impulses to kill any sort of men, than the Leviers and Collectors of the *Cess*, which the Convention had granted for erecting and maintaining the foresaid additional Forces. The Murderers of the Archbishop did also lay in wait for those who gathered this Tax, which they said, *was given to drive Christ out of the Kingdom*; and the Soldiers whose Murder I related above, were some of those, who were commanded out to Convoy the Gatherers of the *Cess*. At the same time, by way of preparation of what was to follow, they made almost daily Musters of their Forces at their Field-Meetings, as at *Lefmabago*, and *Munkland*, in *Clidsdale*, *Rubber-Law*, in *Tiveot-dale*, and several parts of *Sterling-shire*, where they refused to dissolve their Meetings, when they were required to do it in the Kings name, and dared his Majesties Forces to their faces, speaking in their hearing reproachfully and disdainfully of the King, the Privy-Council, and the Bishops, which made all considering men forebode the Rebellion at the same time, that some of our Countrey-men at *London* bore the World in hand, that the accounts of these disorders which were sent up from time to time, were all Fictions, or Hyperboles, and that there was no danger of Rebellion at all.

While they were in this evil Disposition, and committed these Cruelties, and Disorders, there was published a Libel said to have been spoken in the House of Lords, *March 25. 1679.* it hath been Printed twice already, once in a single sheet, shortly after it was said to have been spoken, and afterwards in a *Collection of divers remarkable Proceedings in Parliament*, and because it accidentally had such a mighty influence in stirring up this People to the *Murder and Rebellion*, I think my self bound by my undertaking to give it a third Edition in this place.

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## The S P E E C H.

My Lords,

**Y**OU are appointing of the consideration of the State of England to be taken up in a Committee of the whole House, some day next Week. I do not know how well what I have to say may be received, for I never study either to make my Court well, or to be Popular; I always speak what I am commanded by the Dictates of the Spirit within me.

There are some other Considerations that concern England so nearly, that without them you will come far short of Safety and Quiet at home: We have a little Sister, and she hath no Breasts, what shall we do for our Sister in the day when she shall be spoken for? If she be a Wall, we will build on her a Palace of Silver, if she be a Door, we will inclose her with Boards of Cedar. We have several little Sisters without Breasts, the French Protestant Churches, the two Kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland; the Foreign Protestants are a Wall, the only Wall and Defence to England; upon it you may build Palaces of Silver, glorious Palaces. The Protection of the Protestants abroad, is the greatest Power and Security the Crown of England can attain to, and which can only help us to give check to the growing greatness of France. Scotland and Ireland are two Doors, either to let in Good or Mischief upon us; they are much weakened by the Artifice of our cunning Enemies, and we ought to inclose them with Boards of Cedar.

Popery

Popery and Slavery, like two Sisters, go hand in hand, sometimes one goes first, sometimes the other, in a doors, but the other is always following close at hand.

In England, Popery was to have brought in Slavery; in Scotland, Slavery went before, and Popery was to follow.

I do not think your Lordships or the Parliament have Jurisdiction there. It is a Noble and Ancient Kingdom; they have an illustrious Nobility, a gallant Gentry, a learned Clergy, and an Understanding, Worthy People; but yet we cannot think of England as we ought, without reflecting on the Condition therein. They are under the same Prince, and the Influence of the same Favourites and Councils; when they are hardly dealt with, can we that are the Richer expect better usages? for 'tis certain, that in all Absolute Governments, the poorest Countreys are always most favourably dealt with.

When the Ancient Nobility and Gentry there cannot enjoy their Royalties, their Shrievaldoms, and their Stewardaries, which they and their Ancestors have possessed for several hundreds of years; but that now they are enjoyed by the Lords of the Council to make Deputations of their Authorities to such as are their known Enemies.

Can we expect to enjoy our Magna Charta long under the same Persons and Administration of Affairs? If the Council Table there can imprison any Nobleman or Gentleman for several years, without bringing him to Tryal, or giving the least reason for what they do; can we expect the same men will preserve the Liberty of the Subject here?

I will acknowledge, I am not well vers'd in the particular Laws of Scotland; but this I do know, that all the Northern Countreys have, by their Laws, an undoubted and inviolable Right to their Liberties and Properties; yet Scotland hath out-done all the Eastern and Southern Countreys, in having their Lives, Liberties and Estates subjected to the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of those that Govern. They have lately plundered and harassed the richest and wealthiest Countries of that Kingdom, and brought down the barbarous High-Landers to devour them; and all this without almost a colourable pretence to do it: Nor can there be found a reason of State for what they have done; but that those wicked Ministers designed to procure a Rebellion at any Rate; which as they managed, was only prevented by the miraculous Hand of God, or otherwise all the Papists in England would have been Armed, and the fairest Opportunity given in the just time for the Execution of that wicked and Bloody Design the Papists had; and it is not possible for any man that duely considers it, to think other, but that those Ministers that acted that, were as guilty of the Plot, as any of the Lords that are in question for it.

My Lords, I am forced to speak this the plainer, because, till the pressure be fully and clearly taken off from Scotland, 'tis not possible for me, or any thinking man, to believe that good is meant us here.

We must still be upon our guard, apprehending that the Principle is not changed at Court, and that these men that are still in place and Authority, have that Influence upon the mind of our Excellent Prince, that he is not, nor cannot be that to us, that his own Nature and Goodness would incline him to.

I know your Lordships can order nothing in this, but there are those that hear me, can put a perfect Cure to it; until that be done, the Scottish Weed is like Death in the Pot, Mors in olla; But there is something

too, now I consider, that most immediately concerns us; their Act of Twenty two thousand Men to be ready to invade us upon all occasions. This, I hear, that the Lords of the Council there have treated, as they do all other Laws, and expounded it into a standing Army of Six thousand Men. I am sure we have reason and right to beseech the King that that Act may be better considered in the next Parliament there. I shall say no more for Scotland at this time, I am afraid your Lordships will think I have said too much, having no concern there; But if a French Noble man should come to dwell in my House and Family, I should think it concern'd me to ask what he did in France: for if he were there a Felon, a Rogue, a Plunderer, I should desire him to live elsewhere; and I hope your Lordships will do the same thing for the Nation, if you find the same cause.

My Lords, Give me leave to speak two or three words concerning our other Sister Ireland: thither, I hear, is sent Douglas's Regiment, to secure us against the French. Besides, I am credibly informed, that the Papists have their Arms restored, and the Protestants are not many of them yet recovered from being the suspected Party; the Sea Towns as well as the In-land, are full of Papists: that Kingdom cannot long continue in the English Hands, if some better care be not taken of it. This is in your Power, and there is nothing there, but is under your Laws; therefore I beg that this Kingdom at least may be taken in consideration, together with the State of England: for I am sure there can be no safety here, if these Doors be not shut up and made sure.

By the very next Post after this Speech was said to have been spoken, Forty written Copies of it were sent from London, by the Gentlemen of the Party to Edinburgh; and the Fanaticks grew so insolent, and so daring upon it, that several Loyal Gentlemen wrote up Accounts, to what height of Insolences this Speech had blown up the Enemies of the Church, and the Monarchy; and that they had just reasons to fear, that very dangerous attempts, if not a down-right Rebellion, would speedily ensue thereupon. But these reports found not too much Credit at London, where the World was made believe by men, (whose Interest it was that they should not be Credited) That they were but the Inventions of the Duke of Lauderdale, for whose advantage in that conjuncture it was that they should be believed.

But what we would not then believe, we shortly after saw verified; and the event falling out so contrary to the expectation of men, who had been deluded by the Duke of Lauderdale's ungrateful Enemies, made many of them who had spoken publicly and done much ill against him, declare since, That they were sorry for it, and for the time to come would do so no more. But to return to this pretended Speech, which emboldned the People to such wicked Attempts: I find it very difficult for my self to believe, that the Right Honourable and worthy Person under whose name it was Published, could be the Author of such an Harangue that reflected upon a Peer, whom he once esteemed so much, and owned for the greatest States-Man in the World. Nay one must needs think, that so Wise and generous a Gentleman, who hath so great an Estate to lose, and who was so true to the Kings Service and Interest, while his Majesty was pleased to Employ him, should speak nothing in that August Assembly, which should fire the Disaffected of either Kingdom, and consequently endanger the Government, and involve us all in a common Confusion again.

But if he did speak it to discharge any private Resentments, which might over-rule the generosity of his Nature, yet I am confident he would not have done so, had he known the true state of Scotland, which few Englishmen do, or foreseen the evil effects, which it immediately had, in



encouraging the Covenanters to Assassinate, Massacre, and Rebel. For now they began to look, and speak big in *Edinburgh*, and many of them were heard and seen upon *the Crown of the Causeway*, who had skulked about in darkness before. And as for the disaffected parts of the Countrey, they now Display'd *the Banners of Jesus Christ* (as they blasphemously called their Colours) at their Conventicles every where; and their Preachers now told them, That *the time of their Deliverance, and of Gods taking Vengeance upon his Enemies, was now at hand, only they must repent, and be strong, and of a good Courage, and fight the Battles of the Lord.* They also threatned in all places such as they thought were seriously active against them, talking of great Changes and Revolutions in *England*; and in publick places dropt Lists of the names of those men, whom they had a mind should fall by *Heroical* hands. Particularly at *Cupar* the Shire-Town in *Fiffe*, there was found in the Streets a threatening Declaration, while the *Sheriff-Depute* was there demanding the legal Fines from those, who had been convicted of frequenting Field-Conventicles, and entertaining declared, and attainted Traitors, and fugitives, and intercommuned Rebels. The Declaration was thus directed.

To all and sundry, to whose hands these Presents shall come, but especially to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of the Town of *Cupar* in *Fiffe*.

**B**E it known to all men, That whereas under a pretext of Law, though most falsely, there is most abominable, illegal, and oppressive Robberies, and Spoils committed in this Shire by Captain *Carmichael*, and his Soldiers, by vertue of a precept from *William Carmichael, &c.* he being authorized, and held on to it by that Perjured, Apostat Prelate *Sharp*, who, &c. These are therefore to declare to all that shall any ways be concerned in this Villanous Robbery, and Oppression, either by Assisting, Recepting, Levying, or any manner of way Countenancing the same, that they shall be holden as guilty thereof, and however they may think themselves for the present secured, being guarded by a Military Force, and those that are thus Robbed despicable; yet let them take this for a warning, that they shall be handled severely, answerable to their Villanies, and that by a Party equal to all that dare own them; and that shortly, as God shall enable and assist them, whose names may be read in these following Letters, A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. W. X. Y. Z.

The Archbishop is mentioned by name in this Declaration, which prepared the way for his Murder; for according to the tenure of it, they very shortly after handled him severely in the bloody manner which you have read. Mr. *Carmichael* was neither Counsell'd nor Authoris'd by him to Levy the Fines, as they most invidiously asserted in their Declaration; but he was in their account an *Apostat*, and therefore was to be represented as the Author of all publick Proceedings against them, that the direful Vengeance of the whole Sect might fall upon his head. They Murdered him, as I have related, on the third of *May 1679.* and on the Twenty ninth following they began the *Rebellion*; because, as their first Declaration bears, it was appointed a day of Solemn Thanksgiving for setting up an *Usurper* to destroy the Interest of *Christ*, and assume the Power which is proper to him alone. I would here set down this treasonable and blasphemous Declaration at large, but having some thoughts hereafter to write the History of this Rebellion, I will not prevent my own design.

*Added for the further illustration of what is said in the Animadversions, o, u, y, 10, 18, on the first Speech, and 23, and 24, on the second.*

*Extracted out of the Epistle to The History of the Indulgence, Printed 1678.*

**N**OW then the *Indulgence* is embraced, and thanks to the givers are rendered by the takers. I ask therefore *First*, If they could after this their acceptance and giving of thanks to the Council, have withdrawn from that appearance, and sisted themselves before Christ Jesus, *the King of his Church*, and with a sweet serenity of Soul have had confidence to offer their thanks to Him, for being helped to witness a good Confession against the *wickedness of this Invasion*, made by the Overtures of his work, upon his *Royal Prerogative*, who built the House, and must bear the Glory; for it was either then or never, that it was to have been done. *Secondly*, Let me ask; Are they so very clear and confident in the case, as they can, not only in dealing with men, hold up their face, and affirm, without hinch or hesitation, that this is their rejoicing, even the testimony of their Conscience; that in simplicity and Godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but the Grace of God, they have had their Conversation before all men, and more abundantly towards these *backbiting Rulers*, before whom they appeared, now *declared Enemies to the Work of God, and Invaders of His Throne and Prerogative*. But are they also content to be carried before the Tribunal of Christ, with this acceptance from those, *who have exautorat their Lord and Master*, in their hand; and to have the quality of their Love to the coming of His Kingdom, and their Loyalty to Christ Jesus, now opposed and put from the exercise of his Royal Government by the Party Indulging, in this very *Indulgence*, tri'd by such a Test? It were fit, sure, to think on this, and lay it to heart; for each receiver may lay his count with it, that soon or syne he shall be put to it. *Thirdly*, Let me ask (though I put it out of doubt, they do, and far be it from me to think otherwise) whether they believe, that Christ, who purchased His Church, *and bought his Crown with His precious Blood*, lives also to make Intercession, and to plead his own Purchase, and Procure, by vertue of the Price He hath payed, the execution of the written Vengeance upon all, *who will strive with him for State and Supremacy in ordering the Affairs of his House, the Church of the living God*; or who will, in their desperate daring and rage, *revolt and exautorat Him by their Law*, (which is a legal and explicit bursting of His Bonds, casting away His Cords from them, and, in contempt of, and Contradiction to the Christ of God, a formal taking of His house in Possession) *as our Rulers have done; to the out-doing, in this affront to Jesus Christ, all that ever went before them; or as if they were resolved never to be out-done by any, who should come after them, in a coping with the Mediator, and a down-right denial of Him to be King; (for now they have put Caesar in his Place)* sure, the Indulged Brethren neither can nor will deny this. Then they must give me leave to assert and subsume (what hath been, as oft upon my Soul, as I thought upon their carriage at that appearance (yea, if they speak consequently to the supposed concession, they must agree with me in it; That with the same objective assurance, I believe the Right that Christ hath bought, *to be Sole and Supreme, in regulating all the Affairs of His own House, to have none to share with Him in the Autocratrick, Archidiaconick and Magisterial Power of making Law, to oblige the Conscience of His Subjects; nor to be in case to give a Ministerial Power besides himself*; And as I believe the firmness of the stipulation betwixt Jehovah and his Anointed, to secure unto him his *Throne, and take Vengeance on all His Adversaries*; and as I believe he lieve to make Intercession; so I must believe also that, at that very instant, when the Indulged stood before the Council, and by their mouth made such a Harangue; The Mediator, who is set down, at the right hand of God, was interceding and pleading by His Blood, by His Wounds and Passion, for the Execution of the purchased and promised Vengeance upon such, *who by the complex of this very deed, in a defiance to the everlasting Decree, whereby his Throne is Established, declared, they had taken unto themselves His House in Possession*. Ah; my dear Brethren, can the thoughts of such a discord and discrepancy betwixt His Intercession in Heaven, and your Haranguing on Earth, enter into your Soul, (and I give you the defiance to enter into the serious thoughts of the matter, and hold them out or be reflected upon, without Terrour, Trembling, Confusion of face, Shame and Astonishment.

Now my *reverent and very dear Brethren*, may I not, upon this occasion, make bold to fall upon you as prostrat, and with the tear in mine Eye, (for I have confidence to say it, I scarce see my Paper, while by my Pen I make this Address unto you,) humbly and earnestly beg of you, request, beseech and obtest you, for your blessed and glorious Masters sake, who is now Crucified again amongst us, *from whose Head the Crown is taken*; for His Churches sake, whereof he hath made you Ministers, and so magnified you amongst men, in sending you into the World, under the Character of his Ambassadors; for your poor broken hearted and bleeding Brethrens sake, as ever you would be amongst the restorers of our breaches; as ever you would again be as some of you were in times past, as the Chariots and Horsemen of Israel; as ever you would wish to be brought again to keep *his Courts, and to Judge his House*; and, when that work is over, to have a Place amongst them that stand by; as you would not be the occasion of the rupture and utter ruine of the small remnant (for God and all good and understanding-men will refund this distracting and remnant-destroying Division, that is amongst us, upon this *Indulgence*;) as you tender the good of the Posterity, and would give an unquestionable evidence, how intensely you desire, that Jesus Christ may Reign and Rule without a competitor, when you are gone; As you love to live at peace with God, and enjoy, as feeding Pastors and faithful Witnesses to your Lord, a sweet serenity of Soul; Nay as ever you expect to go off the stage in good terms with God, and have your Masters welcom of *well done good and faithful Servants*; and be enrolled, when you are gone, amongst the Confessors of his name, and holders fast of the word of his Testimony, and such as had obtained mercy to be valiant for the truth: Let me, I say, upon all these, and many other accounts, make bold to beseech you, without more debate, without more delay, to deliver your selves; to deliver the Church; to deliver your wounded, weeping and overwhelmed Brethren; and to deliver the Posterity from the snare of that *Cause-Defroing, Church-Burning, Remnant-Dividing Indulgence*.

*Viz. Parochial, or Church-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies*

*A Jesuitical Letter sent to the Covenanters in the West of Scotland,  
who lately Rebelled.*

I Have been much surpris'd to hear, that almost all the Suffering Ministers of *Scotland*, of late (for formerly I never heard nor dream'd of such a thing) begin to speak in favour of this *Indulgence*, (which to me ever was, and yet is the bane of our Cause, and that which hath given the *bleeding Interest of Christ* in that Suffering Church, a more dreadful stroke than all that Prelacy hath done) some so far as they will not have it mentioned a Sin upon the Land, nor preach against; others so far as they will have none so much as hinting, what iniquity lieth wrapped in hearing and countenancing these *Indulged Persons*, yea, (I say the generality) for any thing I know, are come that length, to be ready to question and censure such as preach against it, or preach upon the ground where any *Indulged Minister* is. On where are we now! when it is come to that, and what will be the end of this prodigious fainting and change? are we so in love with the *Supremacy*, the like whereof was never heard of in any Christian Church, no not in the Church where *Antichrist* sits, nor was ever arrogate by any Magistrate, either Heathen, Turk, or Christian, which is our shame, and should be our sorrow, and will prove such a provocation in the sight of the Lord, that he cannot pardon till Vengeance be executed upon the Land, and Posterity, in a degree proportionate to the unparalleled height of that Abomination and Desolation? are we (I say) so inamored with that Image of Jealousie, which provoketh to Jealousie, that we must plead so much for that woful Spirit, come out of that bitter root, after we have seen and felt the lamentable effects of it? wo is me, if this be all our Zeal for God, and his Christ this day, when his *Prerogatives* are *inroached upon* by men who have sold themselves to destroy (so far as they can) all the *Interest of Jesus Christ*, and to banish himself, his Kingdom, and all his Concerns out of the Land. Who I pray among these *Indulged Men*, (I say) as such (for otherways I honour such as are known to me, and shall entertain charitable thoughts of others) can be called the Ambassadors of Christ? who depend as to the *actual exercise of the Ministerial Function*, or such who never were immediately intrusted (even as to kind) with Church-power, receiving *Injunctions, Limitations, and Authority*, not Interpretatively, but expressly, and *In terminis* from them; and so acting under the Magistrate in a Subordination, as directly and formally as an Inferior Civil-Court, or Magistrates do, for any thing I can observe. And who dare say that this is consonant to our received, and avowed Reformation? How may, can, or dare any be silent, and not lift up their voice like a Trumpet, not only to exoner their own Consciences, and bear full witness against this Sin, when now by reason this universal condemnation of all publick appearance against the *Indulgence*, as becoming in a more plain undeniable manner the Sin of the Suffering Church, whereas before it seem'd to me to be only the Sin of the fainting People, who had contrary to their Oath and Vow departed from the Suffering Brethren, to the weakening the hands of the Suffering Remnant, and strengthening the oppressing Adversaries; but also, so far as in them lieth, are for the Peoples altogether lying by and compliance with this Evil, to the further provoking the Lord against the whole Land. Is it reasonable for us now in the day of the Lords contending, to be thus tender of a few men, (how worthy soever otherways) and untender of the *grand Concerns of the Lord our Master*? It's strange to me, that any should plead for it directly, or indirectly, and it were directly designed to counterminde the Lords wonderful appearance in and by these Assemblies of the Lords People, now named Conventicles, and blasphemously, <sup>†</sup> *Randevouzes of Rebellion*, and that now after the Lord hath counter-wrought these Enemies to the astonishment of all. I look upon this and taking the Bond lately tendered, and Submissive payment of this Exaction Money; for all the three were and are contrived, designed, pressed, and carried on expressly and in plain terms to burden, and keep down the work of God by Field and House-meetings, *Randevouzes of Christs Militia*, where he as King, and Generalissimo is Leading, Ruling, and Mustering his faithful Soldiers, nor can I see that such, who are so favourable to the *Indulgence*, can (speaking consequently) condemn the taking of the Bond, or the payment of this *Imposition*, which is to me a practical compend of all former compliances with this Enemy, and a plain practical declaration of their ingagement to root Christ and all his out of the Land. Tho it is true, there is a *Magis* and a *Minus* that may be yielded, yet there is nothing that can alter the kind. Wherefore dear Brethren, hitherto God hath helped you, go on in the strength of the Lord, contending against all flesh for your Lord and Master, who is able to make all grace abound; beware of all formal or material, and virtual yieldings unto any compliance with any contracts whatsoever, that have a tendency to weaken Christs Interests, either in it self, or in the mind of any faithful, for he who is faithful in a little, will be followed with dominion over many Cities. The Spirit of Zeal would make us wise as Serpents, and resolute to stand upon Feet or Inches, for as not a light Skirmishing with fore-parties, but the main Battle, (*ad triarius ventum in est*) and the yielding of one foot, may occasion the losing the whole day. O Lord God of Hosts arise thou, and then thine Enemies shall be Scattered, and strengthen the weak things that remain, when the things that once were are now as it were disappearing, and plead thy own Cause, and determin that long depending Controversy in thy own time and way. Amen.

† Vid. *Animadvers.* p. 11.

*Let us hear from you my dear Brother, His Grace be with you,*

*Thurs in the Lord, Subscribed,*

J. B.

Supposed to be one John Brown a Field-Preacher and Traitor, who fled into Holland, where he is an Agent for the Covenanting-Party.



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### In the first Speech.

Page 2. line 11. him, page 13. line 2. wide, 10. with, 35. those, page 17. line 22. fed.

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Page 47. line 9. Cels, page 54. line 47. tristed.

### In the Animadversions.

Page 23. l. 41. 2. equuam, p. 25. Marg. (c) Peith, p. 29. l. 23. (9) l. 25. Milne, p. 36. l. 10. John in marg.  
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There are other Errors of less moment, which the Reader may be pleased to Correct.

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